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THE JEWS

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THE JEWS

and a changing civilisation

by

NORMAN BENTWICH

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD.
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PREFACE

I HAVE sought to write this little book on the Jews of to-day from my knowledge of their life as much as from a study of the literature. Circumstances have enabled me to watch the development of Jewish life and thought in Palestine which is a microcosm of Jewry, and to obtain direct knowledge of the principal Jewish communities in most countries of the world; and I have made that experience the basis. It is one of the hardships of the Jew that he has always to explain himself; and the explanation calls for some account of his history and of his economic conditions in the past. But the book is neither history nor "apology." Whilst I have a conviction of the destiny of the Jews in our civilisation, I have tried to avoid what Feuchtwanger calls "the Jewish passion for always being in the right."

Jews are weary of being a problem; but they cannot cease to be that by wishing it, or by trying to be something else than they are. And I have had to touch on that problem.

For the guidance of those readers who wish to make a fuller study, I have appended a short list of books dealing with the Jews in modern times.

NORMAN BENTWICH

September, 1933

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THE JEWS

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF HISTORY

THE Jews are the most historical and the most international of peoples. Jewish life ranges over vast areas of space and time; and it is the peculiar interest of the Jewish nation that it is met with at every epoch of history, and in every land and Empire. "Alone among the nations Israel has shared in all great movements since mankind became conscious of their destinies." In the ancient world it played its part in the rise and fall of the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Babylonian and the Persian Empires, in the vast expansion of Hellenism, and, above all, in the transformation of Imperial Rome to the Christian Empire. In the Middle Ages it was for a time the sole national element in the disintegrated denationalised communities of Europe and Asia; and at the same time its members were the principal intermediaries of trade and of thought between country and country and between East and West. In modern times it has remained an anomaly and a problem—for the Jews are still "a peculiar people"—but its members have been in the van of ideas, and one of the principal agencies of progressive and international movements.

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As Heine put it, the Jews "have fought and suffered on every battlefield of human thought." For the last two thousand years the record of the people has been for the most part one of suffering and sufferance. Since the early centuries of the Christian era they have been without a homeland, wanderers over the face of the earth; and deprived, in most countries, of an equal place in the civil society.

"In every land a guest,
In many lands a lord,
In no land King is he."

That dispersion and that segregation, and the popular hatred and religious persecution which accompanied it, have deeply influenced their social and economic life and their character, and made their genius appear very unlike the genius of the Hebrew people of the Bible.

The dispersion and separateness, indeed, go back to the Biblical times; for in the book of Esther it is written that Haman said about the Jews to King Ahasuerus of Persia: "There is a certain people scattered abroad, and dispersed among thy people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people. . . . Therefore, it is not for the King's profit to suffer them." From the days of the first Captivity—of the Babylonians—about 700 B.C., the bulk of the Jews have been a national minority, living amid other peoples on sufferance. From the days of the second Captivity

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—of the Romans—they have lacked everywhere political power; during long periods they have been forced to be passive, and suffering has been the badge of their tribe. But more than any other people, they have been distinguished by patience, endurance, and an ultimate hope of restoration.

The final dissolution of the Jewish State took place in the first century of the Christian era, when the Romans, under Titus, destroyed the Temple and razed the City of Jerusalem. They sought, according to the Roman morals, to war down the proud people which, alone in a cosmopolitan society, strove to maintain its political and religious and national independence. During the so-called Golden Age of the Antonine Emperors, when Gibbon would have us believe that the world was happier and better governed than at any other period, the Jews were driven by oppression, time and again, to burst out into desperate revolt against the lords of the world; and the repression of their efforts took the form of wars of extermination. Yet Judaism and the Jewish people survived and carried on vigorously a religious mission. They won for their faith from the military conqueror the privileges of a legalised religious community and an autonomous nationality, and they spread their tenets in all parts of the Roman world, and outside it. The words which Seneca, the Roman statesman and philosopher, used of them a few years before the struggle began: "The customs of this most abandoned race have prevailed so far as

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to be received in all countries"—these words equally describe the position after that life-and-death struggle. Till the beginning of the fourth century, when the Edict of Tolerance was issued by the last of the Pagan Emperors, only to be the prelude of an age of Intolerance, they were preferred to the followers of Christianity. Their tenets were "privileged," while those of the Christian teaching were only "allowed."

Their rightfulness in the Pagan Roman epoch is contrasted with their rightlessness in the Christian Empire and the Dark Ages. The link between these two conditions is the intricate system of legal disability and legal persecution which marks the anti-Jewish legislation of the early Christian Emperors, and culminates in the laws of the Gothic rulers of the Western Empire and the decrees of the Popes. The aim was to isolate the Jewish congregations from the civil society. The Jews could hold no public office whatsoever; they could own or possess no land, and employ no Gentile servant: they were forced to wear a badge and submit to other outward marks of inferiority. Instead of being "a most excellent religion" they were regarded as "a nefarious sect." The holding of certain beliefs was set up as a rigid test for the enjoyment of civil rights; and so they became second-class citizens, and finally rightless aliens.

When Christianity was installed on the throne of the Cæsars, the Jewish religious liberties also were radically curtailed. It was the policy of the

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Church, indeed, to let the Jews exist as a separate community; for they were the witnesses to the truth. But their lot must be made miserable, and they must be placed in a condition of glaring inferiority to that of the true believers, in order that the predictions against those who refused to accept the Messiah should be fulfilled.* As late as the sixteenth century an Ecclesiastical Synod in Poland passed a resolution stating: "Whereas the Church tolerates the Jews for the sole purpose of reminding us of the torments of our Saviour, they must not be allowed, under any circumstances, to increase." At first the persecution and discrimination were directed against a rival mission. Judaizing was made a capital offence, both for the converter and the converted. Jewish "exclusiveness," often made a reproach by the latter-day theologians, was the forced outcome of a deliberate Christian policy. After the battle was won against Jewish influence, the hatred was maintained against a people who, reduced and enfeebled, shut up in their Ghettoes, kept at a distance from Christians, powerless and defenceless, had ceased to be a danger to the Church, but were, none the less, an object of abomination.

The Jewish dispersion was driven to the uttermost parts of the Christian Empire and beyond it, in order to escape the persecution from the centre. The repressive legislation forced them from their

* Dean Inge tells of a king who commanded a bishop to prove the truth of Christianity in a sentence: "The Jews, Your Majesty," was the reply.

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old vocations, the settled cultivation of the soil and skilled manual crafts, to the more mobile vocations of commerce. They formed, as it were, a Jewish fringe colouring the life of the remoter provinces; and it was from these frontier-Jews that the medieval communities in Western Europe derived their origin. The centre of the dispersed nationality, indeed, was removed in the sixth century from the Christian Byzantine realm in the Holy Land to the Zoroastrian Persian Empire. When both those contending realms were overthrown in the seventh century by the inspired warriors from Arabia, who were moved by a religious teaching that derived from Judaism and Jewish missionaries, the Jews outside Arabia and Christendom attained a new tolerance and humanity. They were not recognised as equal with the "true believers" in the widespread brotherhood of Islam; but they were respected as a "People of the Book" in the public and cultural life.

They were, it is true, excluded from Arabia where they had hitherto pursued an active mission. But in Mesopotamia, in North Africa, and above all in Spain, the Jews and the Moslems were intellectually associated, and emulated each other in the pursuit of philosophy, poetry, science and art. The Jews were the great carriers of culture as well as of goods, the chosen middlemen of civilisation. They were masters of Arabic as of Hebrew, of Aristotle as of the Talmud. They translated the thought of the ancient world first for the Arabs,

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and then for the Latin Christians. Without a homeland they were unable to produce the finest fruits of their own genius; but they developed the culture of others to new uses and blended it with their own.

The tolerance that accompanied the conquests of Islam induced a meed of tolerance amongst some of the Christian peoples between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The Christian kingdoms that bordered on the Moslem Empire, in Northern Spain, Provence, and Italy, were led to harbour the Jews as merchants and as craftsmen. The Norman kings encouraged them to settle in England, and there, as in other feudal countries, they were instruments of the strengthening of the Royal power over the barons. By a hard privilege they alone were allowed by the Church to lend money on interest, and were used by their Royal master, whose chattels they were in law, to extract money from the barons and burghers. The Church, too, profited by their financial ability and their introduction of credit to obtain advances of large sums which were required for the building of cathedrals, abbeys and monasteries, and the first hostels that grew into the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Their financial function inevitably drew upon them the fierce resentment of the common people. They were the whetstone on which the blade of the popular liberties was sharpened in England and in Western Europe; and they paid for their unloved services to the kings by massacre and

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expulsion as soon as the peoples became strong enough to make demands of their overlord. They were driven from England at the end of the thirteenth century; from France a century later.

In Central Europe the march of the Crusaders, seeking to vent their zeal upon a defenceless infidel people, laid waste the Jewries. "Shall knights risk their lives," it was said, "to rescue the tomb of Christ, when his very murderers live in security in our midst?" After that destruction the visitation of the Black Death drove the credulous masses to wreak vengeance upon a people who were believed to possess diabolical powers. Tens of thousands of hapless Jewish exiles from the German towns were forced to look for a precarious haven in the remoter countries of Poland and Lithuania.

As the strength of Islam receded, and the strength of Christendom advanced in Spain, so in that region of tolerance and intellectual achievement the religious liberty and the security of the Jews were undermined. Finally, in 1492, a year after the dissolution of the Moorish kingdom, the proudest and most intellectual Jewish community, which had produced a remarkable culture for four centuries and was still eminent in science, was ruthlessly expelled from the Peninsula. That was a crushing blow to all Jewry, and was felt to be a third destruction of their centre. Before the final disaster, tens of thousands, under the threat of death or banishment, had been received into the Christian Church. They and their descendants

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sought to cling to a secret Judaism in their homes, and carried on a desperate struggle for life against the Inquisition of the Holy Order of the Church, which burned at the stake any man, woman or child suspected of relapse or Judaizing. The homeless mass of the expelled, or such as survived the perils and massacres of the journeying, made their way eastwards. Most of them turned to that new Moslem Empire erected by the Turks, who conquered the last Byzantine stronghold shortly after the Christian Majesties of Castile and Aragon had taken the last stronghold of the Moors.

The Arab-Jewish culture of the Middle East had been wrecked some centuries earlier by the Tartar hordes; and but slender communities survived in the old home of Israel. Small bands of the exiles brought a new kindling of the light of learning in the land. The intellectual predominance amongst the dispersed people was divided between the Sephardic exiles from Spain, who settled in the Levant and to a less extent in Italy and Northern lands, and the Ashkenasic exiles from Western Europe, who were congregated in Poland and Lithuania.

The Reformation and the Renaissance which brought a religious and intellectual stirring to Western Europe, and opened a new era of liberty of the mind for Western Christendom, brought no relief or enlightenment for the Jews. Indeed, the darkest ages began for them in the fifteenth century with the coming of light to Europe. While the

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revival of Hebrew and Hebraism was one of the features of Humanism and the Illumination, and the Hebraic spirit was making its great contribution to the new civilisation of Europe through Luther and the Puritan sects, the Jewish people suffered their severest exclusion from the civil and social life. They had to carry on a desperate struggle for three centuries to preserve their existence as a people, till the dawn of civil emancipation broke in the eighteenth century. Thrown back on themselves, pent up in their Ghettoes, excluded from the intellectual as well as the civil life of the growing nations, they helped to save Europe by their literature, but had to save themselves in isolation by their law and their schools.

Outwardly, as well as intellectually, they were a segregated alien community. When no longer forced to wear a badge they clung in Central Europe to their special costume, the Gaberdine and Strumel of medieval Poland. They were marked out also by the ringlets which they grew in obedience to the Mosaic precept not to cut the corners of the hair. They dropped, perforce, their universal aspiration, and were compelled to straiten their religious and their lay life.

The Jewish masses were no longer living, as in the Middle Ages, in the hearths of civilisation. For the centre of intellectual as of economic interest moved, after the age of Discovery, from the Mediterranean region to the countries of Western Europe, from which the Jews were almost entirely

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excluded. They were concentrated in countries of relatively low intellectual culture, Turkey, Poland, and the Ukraine. They had nothing to assimilate of intellectual things from their neighbours, and so they were engrossed upon their traditional lore, the Talmud and the Kabbala, the one a collection of legal, the other a collection of mystical interpretations of the Bible. They were, in a double sense, the People of the Book.

During this long period of repression, the Jews in Central Europe maintained a measure of autonomy and their internal organisation of nationality. They had their own tribunals, not only for matters of personal law, but for civil affairs; representative lay bodies among them exercised powers of taxation for communal purposes; and synods and conferences of their rabbinical authorities exercised a power of legislation over the communities within a state, and sometimes within several states, which was none the less effective that it had not any sanction of physical force. They maintained their own schools and, despite the attempts of their enemies to burn their books, they preserved their tradition of a literate people. "Shut out from the general pool of learning, they flowed into little eddies of their own." They had too, their own language, which was in Western and Central Europe the Yiddish, a low German dialect of the Middle Ages, and in the Ottoman countries of the Levant was Ladino, a Spanish tongue of the fifteenth century that was carried far and wide by

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the exiles from Spain. Both were written in Hebrew characters. But the devotion to learning was restricted to the heritage from the past, on which they exercised their intellect with endless dialectic, or used it as a starting point for mystical speculation. They were out of touch with the political, social, literary and artistic movements of Western Europe; and having been for centuries in the full stream of intellectual life, they were now left as in a backwater.

It has been said that the epoch of the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, which marks the beginning of the modern European system of national states, marks also the "nadir" of Jewish culture. Narrowness and bigotry affected their communal leaders, and led to the excommunication of a Spinoza and a Luzzatto. And the latter half of the seventeenth century saw a terrible destruction of the Jewish centre in Poland and the Ukraine by the Cossacks, who took a merciless revenge on the Jews for their actions as agents of the Polish nobility. In the next century came the partition of Poland with the utter disintegration of the Jewish communities. Assimilation in the Prussian province of the dismembered Polish State, impoverishment in the Galician, and oppression in the Russian, completed the ruin.

After the Reformation religious orthodoxy was the basis of citizenship throughout Europe, save only in the Ottoman Empire; and in the national Church-States the Jew was more completely

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degraded and isolated than he had been in the single Christian Commonwealth of the Middle Ages. Yet, although the mass were cut off from the general culture, individual Jews still played an important part in the march of ideas. The seeds of tolerance were indeed sown in Europe by the carriers of Jewish tradition, the descendants of those secret Jews from Spain and Portugal who had for a time endeavoured to maintain their position by outward conformity but were driven, by conscience or persecution, to flee from the tyranny and assert the faith that was in them. Spinoza, the son of a Marrano or secret Jew, who found a refuge in Protestant, liberty-loving Holland, Montaigne, the son of a Jewish mother who was a refugee in Bordeaux from the Spanish Inquisition; Bodin, another French philosopher of semi-Jewish origin—these were the prophets of a more liberal conception of the State. Spinoza's country, Holland, was the first type of the welfare-state which regarded the well being of all its inhabitants without distinction of race or creed as its aim; and it was in Amsterdam that a growing congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews was able, from the end of the sixteenth century, to play an important part in the development of the commercial and colonial greatness of the Dutch people.

Oliver Cromwell learned from the Dutch the value of tolerance; and moved by the elaborate Latin persuasion of a mystical Rabbi from Holland, Manasseh ben Israel, enabled the Jews to return to

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England—as merchants, though he could not overbear the Christian scruples of his counsellors so as to secure them civil rights. Yet, with Jewish participation, London came gradually to take the place of Amsterdam as the centre of international trade and finance. The Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who were the first settlers, were pioneers of the trade in bullion and colonial produce. It is significant that Addison, in an essay on the Jews, writes at the beginning of the eighteenth century: “They are indeed so disseminated through all the leading parts of the world that they are become the instruments by which the most distant nations converse with one another, and by which mankind is knit together in the general correspondence.”

In the same epoch and for the same reasons, Colbert, the French statesman, encouraged their return to France. It was not till the middle of the eighteenth century—the century of reason—that the monarchs began to heed the teachings of the social philosophers, and to apply in their Statecraft the principle of religious freedom. That was the era of the benevolent despots, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Joseph the Second of Austria and Catherine the Second of Holy Russia. Frederick the Great, listening to the instruction of Voltaire, sought to build up a state which should not interfere in any way with religious belief and opinion, but “let each man go to Hell in his own way”; his ancestors had let Jews driven from Vienna settle

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in his capital of Berlin. Joseph II of Austria went further; and, by the Edict of 1781 opened military service to the Jews, and placed them on the same level with other dissenters from the State Church. In England a Bill was laid before the Parliament in 1753 to provide for Jewish naturalisation. Though the Bill failed to pass, the movement for emancipation and religious freedom made way both in the mother country and, still more fully, in those American colonies which were soon to achieve their independence, to reject the doctrine that a State was concerned with the religion of its citizens, and to lay down as the basis of the Commonwealth the principle that all men are created equal, and are endowed with certain inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The French Revolution was one of the few great movements of human thought in which the Jews played no active part. It did on the other hand fundamentally affect the Jewish position in Europe. The Jews as men enjoyed the Rights of Man. The ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity were extended to the Jewish communities which came within the French orbit of Napoleon's conquests. A measure, indeed, of civil emancipation was already given to the Jewish inhabitants of pre-revolutionary France by Louis XVI; and one of the prophets of the Revolution, the Abbe Gregoire, claimed: "Freedom and happiness for the Jews, in the name of the sacred principles of my religion. . . . The France of to-morrow," he declared,

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"will be eager to blend and marry her ideals with those that spring from the Hebraic spirit of justice." Napoleon gave more concrete expression to the liberal ideas in a Concordat which he made with a Sanhedrin, or representative assembly of the French Jews, composed of forty-six rabbis and twenty-five laymen, that was summoned to consider the terms of the Jewish admission to political life. As a condition of emancipation the Jews denied any separate national aspiration and claimed to be a religious community. They were to be Frenchmen or Germans of the Jewish faith, to speak the language of the country; to adapt the law of the Synagogue concerning marriage and divorce to the law of the land, and not to oppose mixed marriages with Gentiles, even though they could not celebrate them in the Synagogue.

The movement for emancipation, civil and intellectual, was fostered from within the Jewish community. Shortly before the French Revolution, a self-taught Jewish philosopher in Germany, Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) sought to win for his people both civil freedom and intellectual communion with their neighbours. The friend, himself, of Lessing, who wrote under his inspiration a celebrated plea for tolerance in the drama *Nathan der Weise*, he translated the Hebrew Bible into modern German, printing it in Hebrew letters for his brethren, in order to bridge the gap between the Jewish and general cultures. He induced, also, the Prussian Minister, Von Dohm, to write a

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treatise advocating the grant, by stages, of Jewish civil rights in Germany; and he set out his philosophy of the relation of the state to religion in a book *Jerusalem*, of which Kant wrote: "I consider your book as the herald of a great reform which will affect not only your nation." His ideas were gradually adopted by a large part of the Jews of Germany and Central Europe, and his influence opened a new era for the Jewish communities. The Jews stepped out again into the arena of culture and science. It was the era of the so-called cultural "enlightenment," which aimed at integrating Jewish life with that of the peoples among whom they lived.

The struggle for political emancipation was long drawn. The liberal enthusiasm of the Revolution was followed by the reaction of the Holy Alliance; and, save in France and the Netherlands, the newly-won rights were restricted or abolished. But the Jews were now active in political life, and if not yet politically free, they were mentally emancipated. They were prominent in the Liberal movements of 1830 and 1848; and in the Revolution of the latter year they vindicated for themselves, as for others, rights of citizenship. Political emancipation was fully and completely won for them in Western Europe by the middle of the nineteenth century. Their intellectual and spiritual energies, so long cribbed and confined in the Ghettoes, burst out with an amazing spate of genius in the Liberal democracies. They began to resume

their part as the carriers of culture and the creators of ideas; and their dispersion was carried further to the ends of the earth which were now annexed by the irresistible White race.

The theory and practice of the Church-State were, indeed, maintained almost inflexibly by the heirs to the Byzantine Empire, who held sway over a large part of Eastern Europe. The infection of Liberalism, which penetrated in the middle of the nineteenth century to the realm of the Czars, was soon repressed; and the Jews within that realm, who through the annexation of the greater part of Poland formed the majority of the Jewish people, were denied civil rights. At the same time their autonomous organisation as a nation within a state was broken down. One Liberal-minded Czar, indeed, Alexander II, the emancipator of the Serfs, sought to integrate them with the life of his Christian subjects; but liberal ideas could not be rooted in that bureaucratic soil, and an outburst of medieval repression followed each successive attempt at emancipation. Under the influence of her powerful neighbour, Orthodox Rumania which had barely attained national independence with the help of the Concert of Europe, on the condition of granting equal citizenship to all inhabitants, persecuted the Jewish communities in her midst, and flouted the demands of the guarantors of her liberty.

The repression drove hundreds of thousands of Jews to seek new homes in the more liberal coun-

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tries. The exodus of Russian and Rumanian Jewry invigorated, and in great measure changed the character of, the Jewries of Western Europe and America. It stimulated also the revival of the national feeling in the Jewish communities both emancipated and unemancipated. The hope of a single citizenship, in which Jews should be free and equal members, was proved to be false; and the hope of the restoration of a Jewish nationality in its own home, which had been the ideal of the people for two thousand years of isolation and suffering, revived and came to the beginning of fulfilment. At the same time the Jewries of Eastern Europe claimed to be incorporated in the State as a national unit and to enjoy national cultural autonomy.

During the last fifty years, the shadow of persecution and oppression has again darkened Jewish life. But in the latter end of the nineteenth century the old attitude of passive resistance in Russia was changed to a new attitude of organised effort, having as its goal Jewish "auto-emancipation" within the State, and the conscious striving for a national home where the Jew should recover his full self-respect.

The oldest nation initiated one of the latest national movements in the era of the rise of nationalities. It was not, indeed, till the latter part of the nineteenth century that the Jewish people were in a position to organise the re-building of a national home. The physical linking up of the

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world at last offset their international dispersion, and the economic linking up facilitated collective action. Their age-long ideal of restoration to the Land of Israel, which had been weakened, but not altogether obscured, in the struggle for emancipation, was now stimulated by the violent oppression in Eastern Europe and by the social and moral discrimination in countries of Central Europe. The "higher antisemitism" of Germany, Austria and France combined with the brutal violence and reactionary legislation of the Russian autocracy to stir more deeply the yearning for the Promised Land. The genius of a rare Jewish hero, who combined vision and action on behalf of his people, changed that sentiment into an organised national effort, when in 1897 Dr. Theodor Herzl, a dramatist and journalist of Vienna, summoned representatives of the Jewish communities of the world to a Congress at Basel to plan the return to Zion, and laid down the programme of the Zionist movement.

The World War produced a tremendous transformation of Jewish life. Through the Soviet Revolution in Russia it at once broke down the prison walls of the last Ghetto, and sought to extinguish the fires in the hearth of Judaism. Through the German defeat and the Social Revolution in Germany it broke down for a short—but only for a short—time the barriers of racial and social discrimination which had excluded the Jews from certain positions in public life, and at

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the same time impaired the intellectual hegemony which German Jewry had exercised over other Jewries. Through the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the creation of a number of "succession states" in Central Europe, each with intense national consciousness, it opened a new status for the Jewish communities as recognised national groups; but their hardly-won minority rights were nullified by economic discrimination. Lastly, through the deliverance of Palestine from the Turkish rule, and the adoption by the International Society, organised in the League of Nations, of the idea of a national home for the Jews in their old country, it gave to Jewish life throughout the world a new hope and a fresh spiritual and moral orientation.

The national movement appears to be a fulfilment of the Jewish history of the last two thousand years, to give a meaning and a justification to that ceaseless struggle for life. Moreover, the most international people should have a special place in the new international order which is painfully being constructed, and should serve a function in the intellectual as well as in the political co-operation of the nations. The latest years, indeed, have witnessed the most signal expression, both of the recurrent hatred against them, and of their own creative impulse as individuals and as a people.

CHAPTER II

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECONOMIC DISTRIBUTION

THE Jews are at once the smallest in number of the great nations, and the smallest in number of the great religious communities. Massacre and oppression on the one hand, and conversion and apostacy on the other, through long ages prevented their increase. The number of Jews in the world at the time of the Roman dispersion is estimated at five million; the number in the Middle Ages fell far below that. To-day it has been calculated at about sixteen millions. Of these over ten millions are in Europe, four and a half millions in America, and about three-quarters of a million in Asia. The vast majority are scattered among other nationalities. For the Jewish National Home in Palestine contained, at the time of the last Government Census, which was taken in 1931, only 176,000. The steady immigration which has taken place during the last two years has brought up the number to over 200,000. Yet even so, that is less than one and a half per cent. of the Jewish people. It is a smaller total than the Jewish community of Great Britain, although it represents a higher percentage of the total population, nearly one-fifth, than is found in any other country.

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The Jews have been forced by religious persecution and economic destitution to wander from country to country. An old Rabbinic saying has it that Israel is never altogether deserted. And history shows some striking coincidences in their expulsion from one country and the finding of a new haven. The most notable is that of the year 1492, when they were expelled from Spain, and Christopher Columbus—who notes in the diary of his voyage the passing of the ships that were carrying the exiles—discovered the new Continent of America that was later to become a home of religious freedom. To-day the United States have a larger and a more prosperous Jewish population than any other single State. American Jewry exercises a material hegemony over the scattered people.

The greatest aggregation, indeed, of Jews before the War was in the Western and South-western provinces of European Russia, known as the Pale of Settlement. That region comprised ten provinces of the old kingdom of Poland, and fifteen provinces of Lithuania, White Russia, South-western and Southern Russia. It covered an area of 350,000 square miles, wherein there dwelt six million Jews. The Jews in the Czarist Empire were restricted to this region in 1835, and only in special circumstances could they receive permission to settle in other parts of the vast realm. The Kingdom of Poland had become the principal home of the Jewish people between the fifteenth and the

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eighteenth centuries; and the provinces of Poland, which were divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia in the great spoliation of the eighteenth century, continued to be the home of a Jewish mass during the nineteenth century.

The Jewish population, like the population of the rest of the world, grew vastly in the comparative peace and the transformed public hygiene of that century. It was estimated not to exceed two million two hundred years ago, and it was more than quadrupled in the last hundred years. The rate of increase was greater than that of any other Western people, partly because they are immune from certain diseases through observance of their dietary laws.

The economic pressure upon the people congested in the towns and villages was intensified by this increase. As emancipation was accorded in the countries of the West, a stream went out from the mass to form settlements of Polish Jews in the principal towns of Western Europe; and the sharp spur of persecution drove out greater numbers in the latter part of the century to the New World. The United States, with its principles of freedom and its boundless opportunity, was to the Jew of the Pale a Promised Land. New mass centres were created in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago; for the Jews moved not to the open spaces but to the large towns. In New York, the Jewish population grew in the fifty years between 1880 and 1930 from about one hundred thousand to nearly

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two million. That is the greatest concentration of Jews in any city, whether in ancient or modern times. Constant attempts have been made to distribute the Jewish immigration to America over the many States and towns of the Union. They have, to some extent, succeeded. But the herd instinct of a people, which has been forced to live in close communities for centuries, remains strong for some generations, and it has been fostered by the easy communications of our age. About half of the Jews of the world live in big cities, and about one-quarter in cities with a population exceeding one million.

After Russia and the United States the principal Jewish aggregations were to be found before the World War in the Austro-Hungarian Empire which had over two millions, the eastern part of the German Empire, and Rumania. Austria and Germany had taken over a large Jewish population with their part of the Polish spoil. Bohemia, too, now included in the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, had received a Jewish population in the early part of the Middle Ages; and Prague in particular dates back its Synagogue and its Jewish cemetery about one thousand years. Besides the Jews in Prussian Poland who were the larger part of the million in the old German Reich, Berlin, the capital, attracted nearly two hundred thousand; and Jewish congregations had maintained themselves in the Rhine provinces from the days of the Roman Empire. Rumania inherited some three

The World War and the Peace made great changes in both the political and geographical distribution of the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. In the first place, the Russian-Jewish mass was divided between the Soviet Union, which retained about half, and the new states which were formed on the western fringe of the Union: Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Poland, which received back the provinces that had been filched by Russia, Prussia and Austria in the eighteenth century, now became the principal European reservoir of Jews. Her total population of thirty millions includes three million Jews, who form thirty per cent. of her urban inhabitants. Rumania received a large accretion of her Jewish population when the provinces of Transylvania were transferred from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and includes now one million Jews. The succession-state of Czecho-Slovakia also obtained a considerable Jewish population estimated at three hundred and fifty thousand. The larger part inhabits Carpathian Ruthenia.

It was one of the important consequences of the War, in its relation to the Jewish people, that largely through the efforts of Jewish delegations at the Peace Conference, certain rights were assured to

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national minorities in the new states created in Europe. Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and the Baltic lands. The rights secured by the so-called Minorities' Treaties were of three classes: (a) civil, religious, and political liberty of the members of the minorities as individuals, and equality of citizenship with the members of the majority; (b) the right of organisation and development as national groups; and (c) equality of status for individuals and for national minorities with the majority. Jewish representatives at the Peace Conference secured that the Jews should be recognised as a national minority in these new or enlarged states, and the Jew, therefore, was assured these rights in law. In addition, certain special rights were assured to them for safeguarding their religious outlook; an obligation to respect the Jewish Sabbath and to give Jewish schools and communities the right to a proportionate part of the Government Budget allotted to education. The Rumanian Treaty included a clause by which Rumania undertook to recognise absolutely as her subjects Jews inhabiting her territory and not claiming any other nationality, so that her long evasion of the pledge to give equal treatment to all citizens could no longer be legally maintained.

The Jews, together with other minorities, enjoy international guarantee for those minority rights; and on several occasions they have brought before the League of Nations complaints of violation. The two most remarkable cases were as to their

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exclusion from the schools and universities of Hungary, on the basis of the Numerus Clausus Decrees, which limited the admission of Jews into the higher schools to the proportion that they bore in the general population; and the recent complaint of the application by the German National Socialist Government of Anti-Jewish legislation in Upper Silesia, which is the one part of the German Reich subject to the minority clauses. In the latter case the Council of the League in June 1933, vindicated their claim.

The German Jewish question came prominently before the Assembly of the League in September of the same year. The German delegation, which put before the Assembly a new theory of ethnical nationality, sought at the same time to deny that the Jews in Germany constituted a minority. They were, according to the German representative, "a demographic and social problem unique in character which must be treated by special domestic measures." That challenge was immediately taken up by the spokesmen of the democratic countries, England, France, Holland, etc. They pointed out that the principle of the public law implicit in the Covenant of the League was equal citizenship without discrimination of religion or race; and that, while the Jews might not have asked for special minority rights in Germany or Western countries, as soon as a state introduced discrimination against them, they were entitled to receive the same rights as other citizens. The

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Assembly in the end adopted, with the single dissent of Germany, a resolution declaring that the principle of equal citizenship applied to any group of nationals which differed from the majority of the population whether by race or religion. That is a moral upholding of the Jewish claim to civil equality, although it may not immediately bring about a change in their practical status in Germany.

It is one of the tragic features of the position of Jews that they have scarcely anywhere continuity of status. Over a great part of Europe they are at the mercy of a change of regime. However long they have been settled, and however firmly their civil rights may seem to be established, a turn of the wheel in the State may render them aliens, and a sudden wave of feeling may arouse against them the old hatred and hostility. A signal and terrible example of this loss of security and status has just been given in Germany. Another example, less terrible but as significant, may be witnessed in South-Eastern Europe, where, as the outcome of the truncation of Turkey in Europe after the Balkan Wars of 1912-1914, the Jewish Levant population came under a new sovereignty.

The community of Salonica was the pride of Turkish Jewry. There was a considerable Jewish majority in the 130,000 inhabitants of the town: the merchant princes of the place were Jews; the big mansions were owned by Jews; the principal craftsmen and artisans were Jews; and in the municipal government the Jews had a recognised

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pre-eminence. Salonica, too, was the centre of the Donmehs, a curious sect blended of Jewish and Mohammedan doctrines, which embraced the followers of the seventeenth century Pseudo-Messiah, Sabbatai Zevi. Several of the leaders of the Young Turks sprang from their little community. When the Greeks became masters of the city which in classical times had been famous as Thessalonica and was one of the early hearths of Christianity, they proceeded to fill it with a Greek Christian population; the Jews suffered a steady decline, and the government, commerce and industry, and the labour of the town passed into Greek hands. A stream of migration began. Simultaneously the nationalist revival in Turkey worsened the position of the congregations in Constantinople and Asia Minor.

Most of the states of Western and Southern Europe contain Jewish communities which have been established for some centuries, and have been less affected by the upheaval of the War. In France, Italy, England, Holland and Belgium, they are formed partly of the descendants of the Sephardic or Portuguese and Spanish Jews, who accompanied the spirit of tolerance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and partly of the overflow from Poland (Ashkenazim), which has moved westward during the last 250 years, sometimes in a trickle, sometimes in a spate. In England a community of forty thousand in 1880 grew to a quarter of a million by 1905. Every-where a point of satu-

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ration is reached. Great Britain, the United States, and the British Dominions were led in turn to pass legislation for the restriction of immigration, which has checked the flow from Eastern Europe. That action was taken in England in the early years of the twentieth century, in America by a first measure immediately before the World War, and in an intensified form after the World War; in the British Dominions, since the economic crisis of the last years.

The Jewish community of Rome has existed with unbroken continuity from the days of the Maccabees. The streets, if not the walls, of the medieval Ghetto are still to be seen by the Tiber. The city-states of Italy in the nineteenth century harboured a small number of the exiles from Spain; and many of the principal Sephardic families that later made their way to Holland, France and England, hailed from these cities. The Italian communities, however, have remained small in numbers down to the present day—the total of the country is less than fifty thousand—and have not received any large augmentation from Central and Eastern Europe. Through the centuries they have lost a large proportion of their members to the dominant Church. Assimilation has not been checked either by severe persecution or by recruitment of sturdy elements from without.

Spain and Portugal closed their gates to any Jewish penetration from the end of the fifteenth

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till the end of the nineteenth century, and have admitted hitherto but small numbers. They still harbour, however, considerable communities of Christianised Jews, Marranos, whose Jewish conscience has been awakened with the late coming of Liberalism to profess the faith of their ancestors.

The Scandinavian countries have at no time received any considerable Jewish immigration. Yet it was the Kingdom of Denmark, under the enlightened rule of Christian IV, which in the early part of the seventeenth century authorised a colony of Spanish and Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam to settle in the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein and granted them full privileges of trading. And Jewish emancipation was accorded in Denmark two centuries later. Sweden and Norway in the nineteenth century received in their towns small congregations of Jews from Russia.

Relics of an older dispersion are to be found in the Jewish populations of Africa and Asia. Northern Africa, i.e., the territories of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis and Cyrenaica, comprise in their coastal towns Jewish communities which date back at least to the Arab and Moorish conquest of the Middle Ages, and were augmented when the expulsion from Spain and Portugal scattered the pride of the Sephardim. In their hinterland—still only partly re-claimed from the tribal rule—they comprise a number of Judaised Berber tribes that must have been converted before the conquest of Islam. The kingdom of Abyssinia, which regards

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itself as the heir of the kingdom of Judah, and has as its arms the Lion of Judah, comprises an ancient Jewish community estimated at fifty thousand, which goes back to the days of the second Temple. It is known as the Falashas, and has a peculiar tradition and ritual. The coast and highlands of Western Arabia, on the opposite side of the Red Sea from Abyssinia, are the home of another remnant from pre-Christian and pre-Islamic days. The Jews of Yemen have inherited the Aramaic language and traditions, and, possibly, the folk-music of the Jewish people at the time of the destruction of the Temple. Dominant in the early centuries of the common era, they have been a serf community since the Moslem triumph. The communities of Persia and Kurdistan are islands of Hebraism mingled with large non-Hebraic elements, which may go back to an earlier scattering after the destruction of the kingdom of Judah. The coasts of India and China have revealed, too, long-lost islands of Hebraism formed by Jewish wanderings, or, perhaps, Jewish missions.

Turning to the New World of modern discovery, in which Jewish mariners and interpreters played a remarkable part during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we find that the British Dominions and the States of South America have attracted a steady stream of traders and adventurous immigrants. During the last 150 years Jews have been prominent in every aspect of the economic life of the British and Dutch colonies of South

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Africa. Since the War the Jewish population has greatly increased in the Argentine; and the disintegration of German Jewry is starting an Exodus to the half-opened lands of the Southern continent. It is notable that the most distinguished Australian general in the World War, the first Australian Governor-General of the Commonwealth, an early Prime Minister of the State of South Australia, and one of the earliest Premiers of New Zealand were Jews.

The outstanding feature of modern Jewish economic life is that the Jews almost everywhere are an urban population. They are congregated, too, in the principal towns and engaged largely in commerce, industry, and the liberal professions. The manual workers, again, are concentrated in a few indoor and secondary occupations, such as tailoring and cabinet-making. The Jews' economic position is that of a pyramid resting on its apex; and most of their communities include few workers of the soil. That is a contrast to their condition in Bible times, when they were mainly an agricultural people. Commerce was, indeed, thrust upon the Jews by force of persecution and prohibition of landowning. As late as the Roman destruction of the Temple, Josephus could write: "We do not dwell in a land by the sea, and do not, therefore, indulge in commerce either by sea or otherwise." It

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was part of the harsh policy of degradation of the Jew by the Church that he was excluded from the soil; and that exclusion remained in most states till modern times. The need of mobility in a people which was constantly hounded from country to country fortified the artificial bent towards commerce. Their property must be portable.

During the Middle Ages, by their exclusion from feudal society and from the trading-guilds of the cities, they were debarred in the West not only from agriculture but also from the crafts to which they had formerly been devoted. Commerce was the principal activity open to them; and the rule of the Church, which forbade Christians to lend money at interest, made moneylending a Jewish calling. They were compelled to devote their talent and intellect to the development of the use of money; and they passed from simple moneylending to commercial lending, then introduced the bond transferable to bearer, and so, in modern times, came to stock dealing, stock brokering, and bill brokering. Distributed in different parts of the world, they were peculiarly well placed for organising the exchange of commodities between countries, and they were among the chief merchants of Europe and Asia. As the civilised world was enlarged, the Jewish trader, more mobile than others, went farther afield.

The development of industrial enterprise in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the revolution in communications in the nineteenth and

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twentieth centuries, gave a new significance to Jewish financial activity and business enterprise. The lending of capital was no longer branded as usury to hapless individual consumers, but became the productive instrument of industrial employment and mercantile adventure. The money-lender became a banker, the loan became a credit for the producer; the pedlar and little trader became the business undertaker and the international merchant; the old-clothes dealer was converted to the nation-wide tailoring manufacturer.

The German economist, Professor Sombart, in his book on *The Jews in Economic Life*, has sought to maintain that the Jewish genius is essentially commercial. Giving wings to his fancy, he suggests that the Semites, who are the representatives of the wilderness and contrasted with the Aryan forest-peoples, have inherited from their original desert-home an instinct for the abstract and rational, and from their original nomadism a love of wandering. "The love of gold is fostered in the Wilderness because gold, like the desert, is devoid of all concreteness, and like the nomad tribe it is mobile." This fine-spun theorising overlooks the history of the Jewish people before circumstance tore them from their home and dispersed them over the world; and it overlooks also the great part which the Jews play in the Socialist movements of our time. The place of the modern Jew in international commerce and in colonial trade, in the construction of a monetary and banking system, the

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working of the money market and the stock exchange, is due not to inherent genius, but to acquired capacity and external conditions. The worldliness has been acquired; the Messianism, exemplified to-day in the ardour for social change, is inherent, though its form likewise is due to the influence of environment on character.

Be, however, the causes what they may, the preponderance of commercial and middleman callings amongst the Jews is abnormal and unhealthy. In the industrialised world to-day the need of the middleman steadily diminishes; and at the same time, in the intensified national consciousness which exists in the principal centres in which the Jews are congregated, the prejudice against middlemen of another race and nationality is nourished. The breakdown of the old urban economy has been most significantly illustrated in Soviet Russia, where the Communist Revolution, which abolished private trading and dealing, at first threw half the Jewish population into the class of the unproductive and therefore rightless members of the proletarian State.

The Soviet Government has sought to find a solution of the problem of the Jewish mass who could no longer carry on their former vocations. Treating the Jew as an equal member of the civil society entitled to equal opportunity, it has facilitated the conversion of the trader, the dealer, etc., into the productive manual worker. An earlier Jewish agricultural population, planted at the

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beginning of the nineteenth century, was wiped out during the War massacres. But within ten years, fifty thousand families, representing a population of a quarter-million souls, have been settled in agricultural colonies, mainly in the South of Russia, Crimea, Cherson and the Ukraine. In the regions in which Jewish settlement is considerable the villages receive a measure of autonomy; and their national character is recognised by treating Yiddish as an official language. A more ambitious, but not more propitious, attempt to win Jewish national sentiment for the Soviet effort has been made by the setting aside of a territory on the confines of Manchuria for a Jewish national settlement. The remote bleak spaces, however, of Biro-Bijan have not hitherto attracted many Jews, whether from Russia or outside Russia.

Still larger numbers of Jews have been fitted for industry than for agriculture. With the help of Jewish philanthropic bodies outside Russia, trade schools have been set up in the principal Jewish towns, in order to give an intensive training for industrial life. The "Five Year Plan," with its emphasis on the industrial development of the Soviet Union, has given the opportunity to the young Jewish men and women to show their adaptability for skilled work in the factory. And so a nation of shopkeepers and pedlars, of tailors and cabinet makers, is being rapidly absorbed in all the different activities of the proletarian society.

If the stimulus of necessity has urged on the

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transformation of Jewish life in Russia, the stimulus of idealism has produced a similar result in the Jewish National Home in Palestine. One of the principal motives of the Return to the Land has been the creation of a simpler life. The Jewish community of Palestine approximates to normality much more fully than any other Jewry in the world, and forms the base as well as the apex of a pyramid. In that population of two hundred thousand, industry and handicrafts are the main occupations and account for about one-third of the earners. And while elsewhere the Jews are engaged in secondary industries, here they take their part in the primary callings. Agriculture takes the second place with about one-fifth. Trade occupies some thirteen per cent.; public administration and the liberal professions, 11 per cent.; and transport work five per cent. of the Jewish earners. It is an encouraging feature of the development of the last ten years that the rural Jewish population, which in 1922 numbered fifteen thousand or eighteen per cent. of the Jewish total, rose in 1932 to about fifty thousand, or twenty-seven per cent. In no other country is there such a high proportion of Jewish agriculturists, with the possible exception of Carpathian Ruthenia, where Jews engage in market gardening and dairy farming of a simple kind. The proportion of Palestinian Jews, indeed, in the liberal professions is still abnormally high. While Jews are less than one-fifth of the total population, they include more than half the doctors, lawyers, en-

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gineers, etc. An unsolved problem of Jewish life, as well in Palestine as elsewhere, is to satisfy the tremendous intellectual eagerness of the Jew, without overcrowding him in the intellectual callings.

The attempt has been made during the last forty years to encourage the development of agriculture amongst Jews in other countries. The intensified persecution of the Jews in Russia, which was marked by the "May Laws" of 1882 and continued till the World War, led Baron de Hirsch to seek a solution for Jewish misery by a policy of emigration and vocational conversion. The Jewish pedlars, tailors, and cabinet-makers were to be removed from the Pale of Settlement to the spaces of North and South America, Australia, etc., and turned into agricultural workers. In Russia itself part of the urban mass were to be diverted to the country. The scheme had some success, though the hopes of large Jewish colonisation in the Argentine Republic, which was the centre of the emigration scheme, were not fulfilled in large measure. Other philanthropists and Jewish public bodies followed the example, particularly in the United States and Canada; and those countries have now a substantial number of Jewish farmers. But the movement "Back to the Land" has not been able to counteract on a large scale the inherited urban habit of the mass. Yet it is notable that, while with the general population the trend of modern times has been from the country to the towns, there has been a definite trend in the

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Jewish population from the towns to the country. And it is a Russian Jew, David Lubin, who created at Rome the International Institute of Agriculture.

The stimulus of necessity may bring about the transformation of Jewish occupation in Germany. While the dominant motive of the latest and most terrible anti-Semitic movement has been a frenzied racial theory, the economic maladjustment of the population has been a contributory cause. Among the two hundred and fifty thousand Jewish earners who were furnished by the Jewish one per cent. of the population, one hundred thousand were engaged in commerce, nearly one hundred thousand as employees, twenty-five thousand persons in administrative and professional callings, and but forty thousand in manual work. The disproportion of the Jews in intellectual and professional life was most prominent in the principal towns. In Berlin, where the two hundred thousand Jews form one-twentieth of the population, more than half the lawyers were Jews. Similarly in Frankfurt the Jews had an outstanding place in the Courts, the medical panels, and the universities. The concentration of Jews in the capital cities, combined with their greater intellectual development, tends to arouse envy and hatred. The history of the modern world as well as of the Middle Ages indicates that, when the point of saturation in each country for its absorptive capacity of Jews is passed, an anti-Semitic movement is easily fostered. If the Jews were distributed more normally between the

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different vocations of life, that danger would be in some measure averted.

It is a common fallacy that the Jewish people are rich. The fallacy is based on the prominence of a small number of rich Jews, and on the large bourgeois or middle-class element in Western Europe. In fact, the mass of the people are desperately poor. Leaving out of account Soviet Russia, where private wealth has been eliminated for all, the Jewish masses which are to be found in the towns of Poland, Rumania, Lithuania, Austria, Hungary and the United States live in conditions poorer than those of the general working population. Their poverty, indeed, is not as static as that of "the Submerged Tenth," because they have almost always energy and determination to struggle upwards, and, above all, a resolve to give their children, by education, the chance of a more decent life. The oppression of centuries, which denied them in Europe equal opportunity, and the consequent congestion in certain callings and trades, which are now hopelessly overcrowded, have produced this level of poverty and destitution. Given free conditions as in England, Holland, France, Italy, and above all, Palestine, the Jew quickly shows an ability to rise to a high social standard. But the free conditions have, in most countries, been either altogether withheld, or quickly withdrawn.

What nourishes the idea of Jewish wealth and of the international Jewish trader and financier is the

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distinctive place that individual Jews have taken in the world-economy during the last 250 years. One family in particular has been the root of the legend. The Rothschilds, starting out from Frankfurt in the wars of the French Revolution as the financiers of German princes, became by the genius of Mayer Amschel, and his son Nathan Meyer Rothschild who settled in England, the principal international financing house in the greater capitals of Europe. They were the "Sixth Great Power in Europe." The Rothschilds were the successors of a class of Court Jew (Hof-Jude) who, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries played their part in advancing money to European princelings in their incessant wars. The Jew Suss (Oppenheimer) is the literary presentation of that type. They were also the prototypes of a number of Jewish families who applied their inherited financial talent to the industrial, and particularly the railway, development of Europe in the nineteenth century. Notable among these families were the Bischoffheims, who financed the railway system of Belgium, the Pereiras, who were responsible for lines in France and Russia, the Poliakoffs and Brodskys, who financed the Southern railways of Russia. Two individuals of the last generation were distinguished in the same way, and illustrate the combination of finance and philanthropy; Jean de Bloch, who, starting as a pedlar, became the principal banker and financial magnate of Poland, and then devoted the years of his maturity and his fortune to the cause of inter-

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national peace; and Baron de Hirsch, who, having founded a great fortune by executing concessions for the railway system of the Balkans, devoted it to the solution of the Jewish problem by the distribution of the Jews in the North and South of America.

Yet, it is easy and common to exaggerate the part of the Jew in the international economic life. The pro-Semite, like the anti-Semite, is prone to ascribe all directing commercial development to the Jew; where one appreciates him as fulfilling a valuable function, the other attacks him as a perverter of society. Without a doubt the Jew in the Middle Ages and modern times has taken a prominent place in finance and commerce; his enterprise and his initiative enable him to direct large combinations; he has an inherited skill in financial operations which is the result of enforced specialisation for centuries; his dispersion over all countries makes it feasible for him to initiate international movements. At the same time, he is only one among many factors which determine the commercial evolution of a country; and in England and the United States, where that evolution has been carried to the highest stage, he has not been the pre-eminent factor.

In the post-War world Jewish prominence in finance and in industry has been remarkably lessened, both in Europe and in America. As state banking and joint-stock banking more and more supplant the private banks as the main financial

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instruments, and as the nationalisation or national control of the public utilities takes the place of vast private enterprises, so the Jewish capitalists cease to occupy such a prominent and important function.

Jewish intellectualism, which is illustrated by their prominence in the liberal professions, and, in most recent times, in academic life and scientific research, may be ascribed to some extent to the hold of the Jewish religion, which has acted as a powerful discipline of the body and training of the mind. And it must be ascribed also to the fact that, since the loss of his national independence, Israel has been thrown upon his intellectual resources for his existence. By the law of nature, which develops in a body the peculiar organ that is best adapted to the maintenance of its life, his intellectual powers have been abnormally strengthened, and his wits sharpened beyond those of his neighbours. Out of the continual struggle for survival in an alien, and often hostile, environment, he has developed an abnormal purposefulness. The Jew was compelled in the days of his repression, when he was without any scope for his ability, without security for life or property, and without opportunity for leisured culture, to be provident, to drill himself, to direct his activity to self-preservation and the preservation of his people. His energy may be attributed to the same necessity, and to the powerful impulse given by emancipation to express powers and talents which were for so

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long pent up within the confines of a narrow Ghetto. Every Jew wants to count in the society in which he lives. There is a psychology of minorities independent of race; and for two thousand years the Jews have been a religious and national minority, tested times without number in the ordeal of persecution.

Another remarkable feature of Jewish economic life to-day, which is in striking contrast with their condition not only in Bible times, but in the Middle Ages and in modern Europe till the last century, is their prominence in the arts: music, drama, literature, painting and sculpture; and their bent for ministering to pleasure and entertainment. The people who regarded it as a fundamental part of their religion not to make graven images, and to this day have refused to use painting or sculpture in their synagogues, have numbered in the last hundred years masters of the plastic arts. They could not excel in these arts till they were able to assimilate the ideas of their environment; but they have been quick not only to imitate but to originate movements. In music, which is particularly the art of the inner life, the expression of the emotions, Jewish genius was more to be expected; and, in fact, Jews have given an exceptional number as well of musical composers as of interpretative artists.

The German Sombart has argued that the faculty of assimilation shown by Jews in the arts, the power by which Mendelssohn makes German

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music, Offenbach French, and Souza Yankee-doodle music, or the power by which Jewesses like Rachel and Sarah Bernhardt have been the greatest exponents of tragedy in the modern theatre, is the clearest indication of a specific Jewish character. The abnormal capacity for assimilation is an element of that character. It is fallacious, however, to deduce from the qualities of a people in process of assimilation to their environment inherent and permanent racial characteristics, to argue from the Jew in the process of becoming something else to the Jew in essence. The characteristics of mobility, imitative capacity and versatility, which are held by Sombart to be distinctive marks of the Jew, were attributed by the satirists of the Roman Empire to the Greeks. It was the Greekling of Juvenal who was at once scholar, artist, doctor, soothsayer—the consummate actor who adapted himself to the moods of his patron, who, when his master smiled, burst into a grin, and who was the pleasure-provider of the Imperial City. Mobility was not the innate and essential characteristic of the Greek mind, nor of Hellenism; nor is it of the Jewish mind. It is the mark, rather, of those talented members of an intellectual race who are in the process of merging their individuality and their independent outlook, and adapting themselves to the ideas and the culture of a dominant environment. Outer circumstances have made the modern Jew an urban dweller, the exponent of monetary and industrial capitalism, prominent in

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the intellectual professions, and prominent in the artistic life of the Western world. It remains to be seen whether the return of the Jew to a more independent and normal life in the national home will have its effect by example upon the economic distribution, and the intellectual and spiritual expression of the Jew in the dispersion.

CHAPTER III

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

A POET has marked the contrasted contribution of Hellenism and Hebraism to our modern civilisation :

“Thus the sharp contrast of the sculptor’s plan
Showed the two primal paths our race has trod.
Hellas, the nurse of man complete as man,
Judea, pregnant with the living God.”

In the ancient world the Jews stood out as the spiritual teachers of mankind; and the great Church Father of the fourth century, Athanasius, said of them: “They are the sacred school of the knowledge of God and the spiritual life for all mankind.”

The Bible is the immortal witness of the religious genius of the Hebrew people. And while the Bible was the creation of the Jews, the Jews were a creation of the Bible. Throughout the Middle Ages, and until the last century, almost the whole of Jewish literature and Jewish thought centred round, and was derived from the Bible. Their philosophy, their poetry, their mysticism, all were

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an interpretation of the Book. To quote another poet:

“By one sure sign is Israel’s music known,
He sings of God, and sings of Him alone.”

Until the nineteenth century, again, religion and nationality were completely fused in the Jewish people. They regarded themselves, and were regarded by all other peoples, as a community apart, having a special national-religious way of life, which marked them off from their neighbours. They believed that they were a Chosen People, with the mission of spreading the truth about the Universal God by their example; and they were fortified by that faith and by the confidence that they would be again a great people to endure centuries of martyrdom.

Driven from their country and prevented, under the direst penalties, from continuing to proselytise, dispersed and despised, they were preserved as a religious community and as a people by three things: the strength of their family life, their devotion to their religious law, and their undying conviction that they had still a mission to fulfil. The family virtues knit them together more closely than any other people. And when the outward visible bond of the Temple of Jerusalem was destroyed, they strengthened the inner bond of the law. They carried into the Ghetto with them what Heine called a *‘Portative Vaterland.’* They

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maintained their national unity and the sense of religious brotherhood by the intensity of their inner life. Religion and nationality were fused as completely as when they had a home-land, and the acid of persecution kept their faith bright and free from rust. They preserved their ideals through all their sufferings and dispersion. Heine, the German-Jewish poet, who knew the life of the Ghetto, tells in one of his lyrics of the bent Jewish pedlar who takes off his pack on the Sabbath eve, and becomes a prince in his home. The light of faith, indeed, illumined the most wretched habitations; and Jewish constancy was a standing lesson to the Gentile. Thus Jean-Jacques Rousseau, speaking of their survival wrote: "It is by this means that this remarkable nation, so often dispersed and apparently destroyed, always clinging to its law, has been preserved to our days, scattered amongst the other peoples without being lost in them; and its manners, its laws, and its rites subsist, and will endure through all time, in spite of the hatred and the persecution of humankind."

The Jews regarded themselves as only temporary settlers in the countries in which they lived: and they were looking for a restoration of their National Home, in accordance with the Messianic prophecies of the Bible. They believed that God would bring them back to the Land of Israel, to complete their religious purpose and inaugurate an era of universal peace and justice.

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The noblest of the Gentiles recognised the tragic loneliness and separation of the Jews, and their special religious and national aspiration. Thus Byron, the poet of liberation, wrote in his *Hebrew Melodies*:

“Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast,
How shall ye flee away and be at rest?
The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind their country—Israel but the grave.”

And Longfellow, in his poem on the Jewish cemetery at American Newport:

“Pride and humiliation hand in hand,
Walked with them through the world where’er
they went:
Trampled and beaten were they as the sand,
And yet unshaken as the continent.

For in the background figures vague and vast
Of patriarchs and prophets rose sublime;
And all the great traditions of the Past
They saw reflected in the coming time.”

The “Enlightenment” which accompanied the effort for civil emancipation at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century introduced a new outlook in the Jewish communities of the West. Judaism was to be

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transformed from a religious nationality to a religious confession, and the Jewish Sanhedrin of Paris, which approved the Concordat with Napoleon, undertook that Jews should regard themselves as citizens of the country and repudiate any desire for a return to another fatherland. That change introduced a dualism into the life of the Jew which has marked the cultural and religious development since the nineteenth century, and led on to a great cleavage within the Jewish community. One party, which was strongest till recent years in Central and Eastern Europe, held to the old conception of a national-religious body living its complete life according to the Mosaic Law and the tradition, and devoted to a peculiar religious ideal which determined the whole of human conduct. The other party has been at pains to transform Judaism as much as possible into the character of a confession like to the Christian Church of the majority of the population, to strike out from Jewish observance and ritual any features that marked the national character and national aspiration, and to remove the differences between the life of the Jew and the life of the Gentile among whom he dwells. The diversity of outlook is something like that between the fundamentalists and modernists of the non-Jewish society; but it has this peculiarity, that it is combined with a diverse standpoint not only in religion, but also in civil and social life. The one school seeks to maintain the separation which is involved in the minute

observance of the religious code of Jewish Law dating from the Middle Ages, the other seeks to foster assimilation.

It is a common aim of the two schools to preserve purity of race. Marriage between Jew and non-Jew is contrary to the tenets of the Reformers as well as of the Conservatives. Nevertheless, assimilation inevitably leads on to mixed marriage—i.e., marriage between Jew and Gentile—and to disintegration of the community. A large number of Reforming Jews of Germany, England and other countries have, in fact, mingled their blood. Large numbers, too, probably the majority of this class, have after a generation been merged religiously in the life of their environment. In Germany baptism seemed to be the necessary condition of an equal chance in life. So it comes about that in Germany to-day, the Anti-Semitic movement, which is directed not only against professing Jews but against all who have Jewish blood in their veins, has affected as large a number of what are called "Aryan Jews," that is, the descendants of mixed marriages and apostates, as of professed Jews. The modern Inquisition in this resembles the Inquisition of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which pitilessly tracked down the secret Judaisers. And it adopts the same attitude towards mixed marriage as Orthodox Judaism.

One of the striking features of Jewish life, however, in modern times, has been the hark-back to Judaism, or to Jewish interest, of many individuals

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who appeared to be cut off from the community and merged in the general life. The type of Daniel Deronda, who is the hero of George Eliot's novel on the theme of the restoration of the Jewish nationality, is constantly recurring in actual life. If there is a class of "Jews by misfortune," that is, Jews who resent and seek to disown the race imposed on them by birth, there is a class of "Jews by reaction," those who are suddenly made conscious of a racial tie, either by the resentment of persecution, or by a sudden touching of the heartstrings. Men like the late Col. Goldsmid, Sir Alfred Mond and the present Lord Melchett in England, conceived in their middle age an overwhelming enthusiasm for the Jewish people, and a desire to dwell among them. And while Jewish talent is spread by mixed marriage in the Gentile society, on the other hand leaders of Jewry are drawn from those who are the offspring of such marriage.

The Jews during the last century seemed to form two contrasted peoples, part living in the conditions of the past ages, part taking the lead in every progressive process: these holding firmly to the traditional religion and ideals, those drifting into indifference and scepticism: here producing a literature about their religious lore in Yiddish and in Hebrew, there taking a leading part in the development of modern culture and science.

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It is the reverse side of the medal of Jewish emancipation that the freedom of the individual Jew to take part in the general life is procured at the cost of the weakening of loyalty to his people and his faith. In the sunshine of prosperity "the iron hoops of the religion and tradition" which held Israel together for centuries are rapidly melted. Spinoza prophesied, three centuries ago, that Judaism would not survive emancipation: "Wherever the process is extended beyond the political to the social sphere." And the march of history has indicated that the people is threatened rather by the temptations of peace than the dangers of struggle, by the lure of assimilation more than by the rigours of persecution. In every emancipated community there has been a steady loss by apostasy, inter-marriage and indifference. When the walls of the Ghetto are broken down, the national way of life which they protected, and which was centred in the Synagogue and the religious school, crumbles away; and when no longer safeguarded by the observance of their national religious ceremonial, a great part of the Jews cannot long remain spiritually independent in the free environment.

Judaism, indeed, like every other established religion, has been weakened by the rational, sceptical spirit of our times, which calls into question the basis of revealed faith. When that spirit entered Jewry, the very intensification of life according to the religious law in the Ghetto

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induced an intense reaction. There had to be a sudden and violent leap from the ideas of the Middle Ages to the most advanced ideas of the twentieth century. The sharpness of the Jewish mind and the intellectual curiosity nurtured by generations of learning have made the Jew of Central and Eastern Europe quicker to adopt revolutionary ideas, whether about religion or the social order, than the more static and normal peoples about him. So it comes about that in Russia and Lithuania, which were the hearths of rabbinical learning and mysticism till the first part of the nineteenth century, Communism and the anti-religious movements have in recent times found ardent protagonists amongst the Jews. The catastrophic intellectual change of the Soviet Revolution was only the culmination of the long-drawn-out struggle between the old and the new outlook. Turgenev was already conscious of it in the general Russian society. For the Jews that conflict has been intensified. It has been fought out bitterly, in the years which preceded and succeeded the Revolution, between the young generation fired with the new gospel of Communism which they imagine to be based on a thorough materialistic philosophy, and the old generation clinging devotedly to the Bible and the Law. If one visits to-day the principal Synagogues of Leningrad and Moscow, which still remain in use, it is pathetic to see the congregation consisting entirely of older men and women whose garb and

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manner seem to belong to a past order. In the vast mass of the three million Jews in the Soviet Union, Judaism has ceased to be either a system of conduct of life or a system of belief.

Surveying the Jewish people in its present religious divisions, six main groups may be distinguished. They are the Rabbinical Orthodox, the Mystics (Hassidim), the Liberals, the Socialists, the Communists, and the Zionists. The groups are not clear-cut, and to some extent overlap; and many in the last three profess, anyhow, not to have religion, but to hold an anti-religious outlook. Yet their devotion to an ideal and the belief in a better order of the world which it is man's conscious effort to bring about are dominant in them, and that is the basis of religion in the larger sense.

The orthodox Rabbinic Judaism, which makes the Mosaic Law the governing and directing authority of conduct and thought, is still a force in Central Europe: Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, and, though to a diminishing degree, in the Jewish quarters of New York, London, and other great cities. But it is an outlook which is steadily and visibly giving way before the modern spirit. It still maintains its Jewish schools, the Cheder and the Talmud-Torah for the Jewish boy, in which secular knowledge is subordinated to sacred; and it has its Talmudical colleges or Yeshivas for the adult in which learning is absorbed unremittingly and intensively. But inevitably many, perhaps most, of those who

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have passed through this training turn from it when they come in contact with a larger environment.

Large numbers of those who profess orthodoxy and remain members of the orthodox Synagogue do not, in fact, direct their lives according to the Law and the tradition. Their religion is like the conforming Christianity common in the churches. It concerns the worship in the synagogue on a few occasions of the year, observance of a dwindling number of ceremonies in the home, and ceremonies of marriage and burial, and, almost invariably, the support of Jewish charities. That feeling of Jewish brotherhood, of responsibility of one Jew for another, which was one of the signal virtues of the Jewish community in the days of its segregation, remains a virtue in the days of emancipation. The average Jew is distinguished by a sense of responsibility for the poor, sick, and suffering of his own community; and not, indeed, exclusively of his community. It is striking that the Hebrew language has no word for charity other than that for righteousness. To help the poor is to do right.

A new form of orthodoxy, which is the modernised relic of the intensely religious life of the Ghetto, was developed during the latter part of the nineteenth century by a Rabbi of Frankfurt, Samson Raphael Hirsch. It was his effort to foster loyalty to the body of Jewish doctrine and law, while at the same time allowing the Jew to take

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his part in modern life and to acquire modern culture. The Synagogue was to take its place as the centre of the life of the individual Jew, but it was no longer to dominate—as it did in the Middle Ages—his whole social and intellectual activity. Conservatism in religious practice and belief was combined with a liberal outlook in secular affairs. The Jewish system of observances, the ceremonies of Sabbath, the dietary laws, the fixed periods of prayer, were to be combined with a full accomplishment of civil duties. The study of the Talmud and the Jewish liturgy was to be associated with the study of classical and modern literature. That outlook has endured; but it has not spread.

The Mystics, or, as they are known among Jews, the Hassidim—a word that literally means “the pious”—represent that school of Judaism which was remarkably fostered in the eighteenth century as a reaction against the excessive learning and legalism. Throughout its history Judaism has had a mystical leaning, which is illustrated in certain books of the Bible, in the Apocalyptic literature, and lastly, in the speculative Kabbala, which was the most far-reaching Jewish influence on European thought at the time of the Reformation and the Renaissance. The extraordinary revival of that aspect of Judaism in the eighteenth century may be compared with the contemporary Wesleyan and Methodist movements in England. Hassidism swept through the Jewries of Eastern Europe. It offered an escape from the drab realities

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of the Ghetto. In its nobler aspects it aimed at ecstasy and the direct communion of man with the Supreme Spirit; in its less noble aspects it fostered an adoration by the common man of a wonder-working Rabbi or "Tzaddik." It gave a certain bright colouring to the dismal Ghetto life, and favoured the composition of songs and the literature of Saga. It was the background of several of the principal Jewish authors of modern times, the essayist, Ahad Ha'am, the novelist, Sholem Aleichem, the poet, Bialik, the scholar, Solomon Schechter; and it is still a powerful force in the Jewries of Eastern Europe. It has its synagogues, where the worship is designed to lead to spiritual ecstasy, its esoteric literature, its sages who command a peculiar reverence. But, like rabbinical orthodoxy, it has to struggle hard, and often with little avail, to maintain its hold over its adherents, when they come into the larger world. Yet it has had, no less than Orthodoxy, its modern humanist modification inspired by a living mystical philosopher, Martin Buber.

Liberal Judaism was the outcome of the movement for civil emancipation and social and cultural assimilation which derived from the teaching of Mendelssohn and the School of Enlightenment at the epoch of the French Revolution. If Judaism is to drop its national aspiration, and the Jew is to be merged as a citizen in the life of the people with whom he dwells, then there must be a change of Jewish ritual, a development of Jewish observance

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designed to bring the Jew in his religious life nearer to the ways of his neighbours and to break down the walls of partition. The first Reform synagogue was opened in Hamburg in 1818; and the first expressions of the Liberal Movement were concerned with what would appear to be minor and almost trivial matters of ritual, the omission of parts of the traditional prayer-book, and particularly the references to Zion and Jerusalem; the introduction of an organ, and later of a mixed male and female choir, in the synagogue, the innovation of a sermon in the vernacular as a part of the service, the arraying of the Rabbi in clerical robes similar to those of the Christian priest. But the deeper motive behind these outward changes was to bring the Synagogue more into line with the Christian Churches, and particularly to break the association of religion and nationality. Liberal Judaism stressed, therefore, in its religious outlook the universal elements of Judaism, the ethical teachings of the prophets as against the law of Moses and its Rabbinical amplification, the idea of a mission to the Gentiles as against the return to the Holy Land. It has gone on to explore the common ground between Judaism and Christianity and to adopt ideas with regard to the Christian Gospel which are little to be distinguished from those of Unitarianism.

The rabbis and teachers of this school of Judaism have spoken and written much about the Jewish mission in dispersion. The Jewish citizens in the

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nation were to be a light to the Gentile citizens, and carry their idea of God and their teaching of social justice into the modern State. The Liberals have not, however, inspired any band of missionaries; and the occasional conversion to Judaism which takes place in the Liberal synagogue, has usually as its motive the marriage of a Jew with a person born outside the Jewish community. They have produced, indeed, an abundant apologetic and exegetical literature about Judaism; and have done valuable work in the field of Jewish history and scholarship, through such writers as Zunz and Jellinek in Germany, Morris Joseph, Claude Montefiore and Israel Abrahams in England, who interpreted Judaism and the Jewish people to Jews and non-Jews. But they have not been able to lay down a creed or a system of life which has moved congregations to religious devotion, or has been a bulwark against the subtle, eroding influence of assimilation. Their Synagogue recalls the observation of Coleridge, that "the religion of the Jews gives light, but it is the light of the glow-worm which gives out no heat and illuminates nothing but itself." If the old orthodoxy may be likened to Judaism in a vacuum, Liberalism may be likened to Judaism in cold storage.

Liberal Judaism has attracted to its places of worship (which it prefers to call temples), the greater number of fully emancipated and more prosperous Jews in Germany and America. It has not had the same attraction in England, where the

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need to combat anti-Jewish feeling without was smaller, and the more conservative character of the environment has been imitated by the Jew and kept him within the communion, if not in the active service, of the orthodox Synagogue. Its principal weakness as a religious faith is that it is rather negative than positive. It has not brought a new religious inspiration. It has aimed rather to proclaim freedom from barriers which separate the Jew from his neighbour. Yet the national aspect of the Jewish religion is integral, whether one looks at its ritual laws, its festivals, its aspirations for Zion; and the attempt to cut out that part of Judaism could not but weaken the hold of the faith. The denationalised, modernised Judaism lacks warmth. It is regarded by most of its followers as asking rather adherence to a community than a devotion of life; and by its most enthusiastic teacher in England, Dr. Claude Montefiore, the claim that is made for it in the religious life of the world is: "that it may have something to give (to Christianity) not as antagonist, but as a friend, and as a not quite insignificant ally."*

The development of Socialism in modern Jewry is on the one hand a reaction against the oppression, physical and moral, from which the Jews have suffered for centuries, and on the other an assertion in terms of modern life of the universal ideals of social justice which are a fundamental part of the Mosaic and the prophetic heritage of the Jew.

* *The Legacy of Israel*, Epilogue, page 522.

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Although, therefore, a part of the Jewish Socialists would deny any connection with Judaism, yet the intensity of their social faith has its roots in an aspect of Judaism which was obscured for centuries because of the exclusion of Jews from the civil life. Karl Marx himself, who was the son of a converted Jew, was not sensible of the influence of Jewish tradition on his thought, and would probably have repudiated it. Yet history has recognised that his fermenting genius, which was preoccupied with the problem of righteousness in the social order, is in the line of descent from the Hebrew prophets. And his book *Das Kapital* was not simply an analysis, though it is pre-eminent in this respect, but also an apocalypse such as we find in books of the Old and New Testament. The vision is supported by a materialistic interpretation of history, which is in direct antithesis to the Hebraic idea of the God of Righteousness requiring the way of righteousness from humanity and vindicating the moral law in the destiny of nations and empires. Yet his ideas and those of the Jew Lassalle, who was his principal interpreter in the development of German social democracy, have their roots in the Hebraic conception of the Messianic Age. The analysis may be rational and founded on materialism; the vision is Hebraic and spiritual. Lassalle, indeed, was aware of that ancestry. When, at the age of seventeen, he declared to his father his resolve to struggle for social justice and a more equal humanity, and his

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father asked him why he should become a martyr, he wrote in his diary :

“Why? Because God has put a voice in my heart that calls me to battle. Because I can fight and suffer for a noble cause. Because I cannot deceive God in the use of the strength which He has given me for a definite purpose. Because, in one word, I cannot help it.”

Here is the old Hebraic passion demanding righteousness; and it was consistent that his career was broken on the rock of anti-Jewish prejudice.

The Socialist ideal is to-day one of the vital forces in the Jewish National Home in Palestine. It is sometimes associated there with the rejection of the observance of Jewish law; but the Jewish national consciousness is intensely strong among the workers. Even while professing adherence to the Marxian, materialistic theory of history, the Jewish Socialists hold to the idea of the special connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, and their right to continue their historical development in that land. That idea cannot be justified on their theory of history; but it is bound up with their national Messianic faith.

The Communism which has become the creed of Soviet Russia claims to derive its system from Karl Marx, and has been developed both in thought and in practice, to a considerable extent, by Jews. It is inspired by an overpowering distrust of tradi-

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tion, which makes it destructive of the old religion, whether the Orthodox Church of Holy Russia or the Rabbinical Judaism of the Pale of Settlement. So the Jewish Communists are ruthless, and sometimes savage, in their attacks on the old Jewish religious life, and persecute those of the old generation who wish to cling to it. They are possessed by an iconoclastic fervour which can see nothing but superstition, illusion and deception in the law and the ceremonies of traditional Judaism. They persecute, too, the Zionists as the followers of a false bourgeois nationalism, and forbid the teaching of Hebrew. But Communism is not simply destructive. It is already creative of a new outlook on society. In this it is akin to early Christianity, which rejected utterly the morals and manners of its pagan environment, and when it came to power, destroyed with fiery zeal the temples and the schools of the hitherto dominant pagan culture. The Jewish Communist differs from the Jewish Socialist in that he rejects any special connection between the Jewish people and a Jewish National Home. He rejects, indeed, the whole conception of nationality, and seeks to bring about a cosmopolitan society in which a better social order shall be established. He is torn by the roots from his Judaism in which he was reared; and it is only the Messianic ardour which indicates the Jewish characteristic. Yet, by a curious perversity, he fights the Jewish nationalist for the maintenance of the Yiddish vernacular as

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against Hebrew; and he is proud of the Yiddish literature and the Yiddish theatre. That can have no consistency with his dominant creed, but is an irrational survival of racialism on the one side, and the expression of an irrational nationalism on the other side. Hebrew, for him, is a piece of the Jewish religion; and he is blind to the Jewish element of Yiddish.

The Zionists have been classified as a distinctive religious group, in that a certain number do not belong to the Orthodox, Liberal, or Socialist sections of the Jewish people. The majority, indeed, of them are to be found in one or other section. But the belief in the restoration of the Jewish National Home has attained to the character of a religious faith in the Zionist, both within and without Palestine, and colours his form of Judaism or his agnosticism. If the Judaism of the Bible was a complete and harmonious fusion of religion and nationality, and the Judaism of the Middle Ages was an equally complete but less harmonious fusion, the Judaism of modern times has been divided. Both Orthodox and Liberal Judaism have laid the emphasis on the religious side; in a certain brand of Zionism there is the emphasis on the national side. Yet, almost despite itself, Zionism leads to a revival of Judaism. Herzl said the revival must precede, in fact it accompanies, the return to the land.

Palestine is different from the Diaspora in its religious development, because there, while the old

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Orthodoxy is giving way, a living Judaism is growing up deriving fresh sap from the soil. The breaking away from the observance of the law is not due there to assimilation to an external environment, but rather to an inner demand. Many of the institutions, too, take on fresh colour and fresh life. The Sabbath, if no longer for the younger generation a day of worship in the Synagogue, and of home ceremonial, as it used to be in the Ghetto, is a day of recreation partly physical, partly spiritual; and in place of the fixed synagogue worship, the settlers have instituted here and there the meeting for discussion, with the title of "The Delight of the Sabbath." The festivals of the Passover, the Pentecost, and Tabernacles have become occasions for assemblies of the people for physical recreation, for music, for drama; and the offering of the first fruits of the temple, which was part of the ritual in Bible times, is now represented by the offering of the fruits for the Jewish National Cause. Even a minor festival of the well-stocked Jewish calendar, such as the New Year of the Trees, an occasion in the winter months when the rains in Palestine bring the first verdure, receives a vivid modification to-day when the school children assemble and plant the seeds and saplings round their school.

If much of the old form appears outworn to the young generation in Palestine as in the Disapora, much, on the other hand, is renewed and revived. Moreover, the social aspect of Judaism, the yearn-

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ing and striving for the fuller measure of justice in human relations, becomes an integral part of faith; indeed, a dominating inspiration in actual life. The observance of the Seventh Year of Release and the Jubilee is practised by a small orthodox section of farmers; the spirit of these institutions is applied by the young pioneers in their communal settlements. In these ways the life in the Jewish National Home is inspiring a new form of religious-national faith. The Torah, the Law of Moses as developed through three thousand years of tradition, may no longer be the means of spiritualising the whole of life; but in the spiritual centre of Judaism a new religious substance is being compounded before our eyes of that part of the Torah which appeals to the social idealism of this age, with the appeal of nature to a people that have long been starved of nature's inspiration. The old religious spirit of passive absorption is giving way to a spirit for a more active self-expression. The Rabbis said that the Torah must be combined with "the way of the land"; to-day it must be combined with "the way of the land of Israel."

In another aspect the National Home in Palestine gives a new bent to Judaism. There alone we find a microcosm of all Israel in which East and West are associated. The many strands of Jewish life are being woven together into the society; some from the Diaspora of the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries, others from the Sephardic

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communities of the Levant that owe their culture to medieval Spain, others from Eastern Europe which bring an accumulated store of tradition from the Middle Ages, others from the West bringing the most modern doctrines of the physical and social sciences. And that society is beginning to evolve its own outlook towards relations human and divine.

It is notable that it tends to give an equal place in public life to men and women. The exclusion of women from public religious activity has been in modern times one of the causes of weakness in the hold of the Synagogue. The equality of women is cardinal to the New order. Jewish idealism is more and more concentrated on and in Palestine, not so much as a refuge for homeless Jews, but as a home for the Jewish spirit where Hebraic thought may strike out a fresh line of development. Without that rallying point Judaism was like to become an impotent creed; reinvigorated there, it may be again an inspiring influence on civilisation.

The Jewish hope of Zionism has been summarised by a modern Jewish thinker who does not share it, and is, indeed, opposed to it. In the Epilogue of *The Legacy of Israel*, Dr. Montefiore writes:

“Nationalist Jews believe that in order to give some distinctive spiritual gifts to the world—in order to enrich civilisation by a fresh variety of

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spiritual culture—the Jews, or at least many Jews, must live in a country of their own. There must be at least a spiritual centre. The Homeland will provide such a centre from which will radiate spiritual influences both to the Jews outside and gradually to the world at large. . . . Many Nationalist Jews believe that non-Nationalist, and more especially Liberal, Jews, are inclined to limit the possible Jewish contribution to civilisation too exclusively to religion in the narrowest sense of the word. Jewish culture in the Homeland . . . while it will include religion, will be something much wider than religion, just as English or French culture is something wider. . . . They may agree with their Jewish antagonists that it was in religion and in the relation of religion to morality that the great Jewish gift to mankind predominantly consisted in the days of old. They may also agree that it is in these matters that the future gift is specifically to consist. But they hold that with no Homeland life, there can and will be no such future gift. On the other hand, they consider that from the Centre may come the light which may yet illumine the world. From the Centre alone can the outer communities be spiritually fed. For in the Homeland, in Palestine, there will, they believe, begin before very long a great spiritual revival. And then from Palestine, as the issue of this revival, noble spiritual products of utmost value—ethical and religious in the broadest sense of those two words—will be given

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to the world for its enrichment and purification."

That is a fair and lucid statement of the Zionist spiritual hope; and the life in Palestine to-day, in spite of its superficial secularisation, is an earnest of the fulfilment of that hope.

CHAPTER IV

ANTI-SEMITISM

OPPRESSION of the Jews, and their exclusion from the general civil and social life because of religious hatred, have been a fundamental feature of their history throughout the Christian era. In the first century the Roman writer Tacitus said they were the "Hate" of the human race, and from that time they have been an object of dislike. The essential trouble has been that they are different from other people, and wish to remain Jews and in some way different. Anti-Semitism, however, in the special sense of action or discrimination against the Jews on the ground of their Semitic race, is a phenomenon of modern times, indeed of the last sixty years—unless we take account of the anti-Jewish movement in Hellenistic Alexandria in the first century of our era, which had also a racial motive. It was Bismarck, the creator of modern Germany, who, breaking away from the National Liberals, the party to which most of the German Jews belonged, and allying himself with the Conservative and the Centre Party, encouraged after 1878 a revival of

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Jewish hatred, in order to discredit his Liberal political opponents. He found an instrument ready to hand in the newly-formed Anti-Semite Party whose programme demanded the removal of Jewish civil rights. Racial hatred quickly took the place of religious hatred which the Liberal democracies of Europe in the nineteenth century repudiated. Its first scientific or pseudo-scientific manifestations are to be found in the writings of a French ethnologist, Gobineau, who proclaimed in his book *Inegalite des Races Humaines*, 1854, the superiority of the White race. It was developed more sensationally by the German, Wilhelm Marr, who, in a pamphlet on the *Victory of Judaism over Germanism* in 1873, called on the German population to defend itself against "the slayer of peoples." Marr was followed in political theory by Treitschke, the protagonist of militant German Nationalism, who taught the doctrine of the Nation-State which should be a political unit of homogeneous racial origin. He was followed in political practice by a man of inferior intellectual calibre but great demagogic power, Adolf Stoecker, a preacher of the Court, who, in 1879, founded the Christian Social Working Men's Union. A little later Edouard Drumont in *La France Juive* propounded a similar theme.

The race-theorists who flourished from the middle of the nineteenth century, particularly in Germany, but not exclusively there, gave the name

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of Anti-Semitism to their protest against Jewish influence in modern nations. They found the scientific basis of their agitation in the supposed superiority of the Aryan over the Semitic race. The belief in race was one of the articles of faith of that time, and it was upheld by Jews as well as by their enemies. "All is race," says Benjamin Disraeli in his romance of *Tancred*, summing up the world's history. "There is no other truth." And in *Coningsby*, the earlier book of his political trilogy, his enigmatic Jewish mouthpiece, Sidonia, after giving a list of Jews who were outstanding in modern life, says about Jewish survival and genius, "The fact is, you cannot destroy a pure race of Caucasian origin. It is a physiological fact, a simple law of nature, which has baffled Egyptian and Syrian Kings, Roman Emperors and Christian Inquisitors. The mixed persecuting race disappears; the pure persecuted race remains."

The racial pride of the Jew provoked a ruthless retort from the Anti-Semite. Jews were attacked as an alien element in Europe, which should not be allowed to mingle with the Aryans. They were a racial peril of the same kind as the Black or Yellow Peril, and marked by an inferior cranial capacity and physical defects. It did not help that Lombroso, the criminologist and himself a Jew, in the latter part of the century refuted the pseudo-scientific premises of Semitism and Anti-Semitism by proving that the Jews were not a pure

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race and varied physically like other peoples according to their environment. Driven from the idea of a Semitic type, distinguished by its physical features, the German Anti-Semites held to the theory of an immiscible Jewish people with an inferior intellectual and spiritual equipment, which must be prevented from corrupting and disintegrating Aryan civilisation. The field of battle was shifted from the physical to the psychological sphere.

No theory in Germany was, or is, too desperate to be buttressed by research, particularly if it asserts the superiority of the Teutonic race. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who, before the World War, was the chief apostle of German fanaticism and Judæo-phobia, revived in his *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* the old antithesis between the powers of light and darkness that were represented in the Aryan and Semite families. He was the son-in-law of Richard Wagner, who had denounced the Jew as a corrupting influence in music; and he applied Wagner's theme to life generally. The Jew is the source and representative of what is low and degrading in our civilisation; while the Teuton is the source and representative of what is splendid and ennobling in it. It was a thesis attractive in its simplicity and its appeal to national and racial pride—the more, perhaps, because it was put forward by a person of foreign stock, as is a common feature of Anti-Semitic annals—and it

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was worked out with a perfection of paradox and a striking originality in the interpretation of facts. The dominant characteristic of the Jewish race is materialism, which is exemplified most thoroughly in their religion. The idea that the Jews are a religious people is a bubble of their own blowing. They banished from religion all contemplative wonder, and reduced God to a purely abstract and, at the same time, materialistic conception. If the Bible seems proof to the contrary, the answer is that the great prophets were not Jews but Israelites, who contained a large admixture of the creative Hittites. David was an Amorite, and therefore half a German; while Jesus, who possessed supreme religious genius, is proved by that fact alone to have been certainly an Aryan, and probably a Teuton, the descendant of nordic invaders of Western Asia.

In Russia an Anti-Semitic school went farther than their German masters: they conceived a terrible Semitic conspiracy to destroy the Aryan race and Christian civilisation. They found the authority for this plot, and the details of its execution, in a forged and frenzied book entitled: *The Protocols—or Secret Wisdom—of the Elders of Zion*. The forgery was proved after the War; but that has not deterred the enemies of the Jews from using it as proof of Jewish villainy. It was a modern and more virulent variation of the medieval practice of the "Blood accusation"—the charge of Jewish murder of Christian children

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for ritual purposes—which, though its falseness has been exposed time and time again, and denounced by Popes, remains down to our day as a device for provoking murderous violence. Six trials of Jews based on the accusation were staged in various countries during the last fifty years. In any society which still holds primitive beliefs, or in which savage and primitive passions may be aroused by an unscrupulous Government authority, the Jew is the devil easiest to hand and most terrible. And the history of the latter part of the nineteenth century shows that the primitive passions may be stirred even in the most civilised of nations.

Anti-Semitism is hydra-headed. In darkest Russia it took the form, time and again, of murderous “pogroms,” i.e., attacks against the Jews instigated or connived at by the Czarist Government. In the Ukraine after the World War, during those anarchical years, 1919-21, it took the form of wholesale massacre. In the more civilised parliamentary monarchy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire it took the form of occasional riots, the exclusion of the Jews from higher offices, Jew-baiting in the universities, the Press and the theatre, and the permanent activity of an anti-Jewish party in the Parliament and in the municipality of Vienna. In Germany, it had much the same form, save that there was no violent outbreak. Even in democratic republican France of the 'nineties, clerical reaction, playing

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on the sensitive feeling of military inferiority before the German menace, together with the financial disasters of certain royalist elements, provoked the "affaire Dreyfus" and a wave of social hatred of the Jews. For a decade the great tradition of the French Revolution was obscured in a large section of the French population by the hatred and fear of the Jewish devil. The Anti-Semitic movement spread to the French territory across the Mediterranean, especially to Algeria, and took there a violent physical form. It has remained in that country allied amongst the native inhabitants with resentment against the French domination.

England has remained true to her principles of tolerance, justice and liberalism, and has been almost entirely unaffected by the aberrations of her neighbours. Yet, even in her liberal society, small groups influenced by German theory or Latin feeling—and the Catholic Church has not entirely thrown off its religious aversion—have sought to spread the Anti-Semitic virus. The chief exponent in England of this generation has been Hilaire Belloc, of half-French descent, who again manifests that characteristic of foreign agitation in the name of national purity against another foreign element. His thesis is that the Jews are a separate nationality, and should be treated as such, and segregated from the general society, as they were in the medieval Church-State. But to this thesis he adds an indictment of Jewish

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influence upon English life because the Jew demoralises.

“How odd
of God
To choose
The Jews”

is the lighter statement of his refrain.* And in a book on *The Jews* he decks out elegantly the rags of racial theory.

Belloc maintains that the presence of the Jews intermixed with other nations alien to them presents a permanent problem of a grave character. The different culture, tradition, race, and religion of Europe makes Europe permanently antagonistic to Israel. Recently there has been a rapid intensification of that antagonism, owing to the association of the Jews with revolutionary movements, particularly Bolshevism; and the discovery of a solution is therefore of immediate importance. He dismisses the solution by elimination or destruction, because that would be immoral: expulsion would be odious; absorption is impossible, and therefore some agreement for segregation is the only way.

The graver aspect of the infection was manifested, a few years before the World War, in a

* Another quatrain has been suggested in reply to that refrain:

“How strange
that man
Should change
The plan.”

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violent campaign against Jewish public men and financiers on the one hand, and against the alien immigrant of Whitechapel on the other. The infection has shown signs of spreading in recent years. In the United States of America, which has inherited English Liberal tradition without, however, the English freedom-loving experience, the Anti-Semitic feeling is combined with a movement against other national, religious and racial elements, the conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics, the colour-bar between white and black, the assertion of Nordic superiority over Latin and Slav. The Klu Klux Klan is its cruder outcome; it has its less crude expression not in any legal but in social and academic discrimination. It is hard for a Jew to be appointed to a Chair in the best universities, or to be admitted to Gentile clubs, although American Jews are not seldom members of the President's Cabinet, Governors of States and Ambassadors.

Anti-Semitism in the larger sense comprises different elements and motives. A Jewish writer of the last century, the author of the doctrine of auto-emancipation, saw in it a sort of fear of ghosts. "For the living the Jew is dead: for the native-born a stranger: for the settled a vagabond: for the wealthy a beggar: for the poor a millionaire and an exploiter: for citizens a man without a country: for all classes the hated competitor." Its irrational root makes it the harder to eradicate from the society in which it takes hold.

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In the first place, and most elementary, is the feeling against something foreign; and when feeling is aroused against the foreigner the Jew is at once a defenceless butt. As Tolstoi said: "It is a mad passion, the will to hate," and that will is strong in peoples like the Poles and the Rumanians who have themselves been persecuted. It is the atavistic feeling that makes for misunderstanding and hatred between nations, and is a survival of the irrational instinct in man from the tribal age, fear and dislike of what is different. The assimilation of the Jew to the national environment, the manifest proof that he is a good and loyal citizen of the country in which he lives, does not remove the feeling. It may, in certain circumstances, provoke it. The demand of the Anti-Semite is "disappear or depart." The fullness of the Jew's identification with the life of his neighbour, and the fullness of the part which he takes in the national life, especially when he reaches high places, rouse a feeling of envy and resentment which fortifies the other feeling of dislike of the alien. The Jews are too conspicuous..

In the second place, there is the economic motive. The Jew, physically and ethnically marked out as a separate element, is a competitor, and because of his energy, intelligence and purposefulness, a most powerful competitor. So the poor Jewish immigrant, coming into the labour market, provokes the resentment of the non-Jewish worker or trader. At the other end of the economic

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scale, the Jewish capitalist, whether merchant, industrial magnate or banker, provokes the indignation of the sufferers in the working-class or middle-class struggle. The Jewish-owned department store spells ruin for the small shopkeeper, and excites his hatred. The Jewish doctor or lawyer rouses the jealousy of his Gentile colleague by his frequency and his prominence. That feeling of envy, checked in normal times of economic tranquillity, is accentuated at times of economic depression. In pre-War Russia it was readily excited in an uneducated mass by an uneasy autocracy, which could find in attacks on the Jewish tailors, innkeepers, moneylenders, and shopkeepers a ready vent for the popular miseries. It has now been suppressed, indeed, in Soviet Russia, where economic jealousies no longer play a part, and Anti-Semitic propaganda action has been made a State offence. On the other hand it has become a widespread motive, owing to the desperate economic position, in Central Europe. There the Jews, themselves scourged by the World War and Civil Wars, by famine and currency inflation, and finally by the economic ruin brought about through the policy of economic self-sufficiency, are victims of popular envy and attack. The maxim upon which their enemies work has been expressed thus: "We do not take the fish out of the water; but we take the water from the fish." It is made almost impossible for the mass of Jews to maintain an economic existence.

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The "cold pogrom" is as destructive and ruthless as the "hot pogrom" of pre-Soviet Russia.

A third motive of the feeling is given by the Jewish prominence in social movements. His economic distress, as well as his conscious or half-conscious Messianic heritage, makes the Jew a ferment in the society in which he lives. His own misery makes him more sensitive of the general injustice and social inequality, and so he has been a leader, during the last 150 years, of progressive parties. In the early part of the nineteenth century he took a large place in the Liberal movement, in the latter part of the century in the Socialist movement; in the post-War world—in the Communist movement. But always and everywhere a Jewish type can be marked by the protagonists and diehards of the old order as a revolutionary. And it is easy for the Anti-Semite agitator to point to a particular Jew who represents any hated tendency, and say that this is the Jewish type. The champion of the middle class denounces the Jew as a Marxist; the champion of the working class denounces him as a capitalist and profiteer; the champion of militant nationalism denounces him as a pacifist and an internationalist.

Conservatives of the old Germany could stir up hate against Heine and Borne. Bismarck could stir up hate against Lasker and Bamberger. Hitler can stir up hate against the spirits of Marx and Lassalle, and a host of their spiritual followers.

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In countries less obsessed than Germany with racial hatred and pathological emotion the old ruling class tend to look on the progressive Jew as the cause of insecurity, whereas he is really a symptom of changing social conditions.

Again, the intensification of national feeling, which has been the most pernicious disease of the modern world, and, tragically, was not exorcised or dissipated by the World War, leads to resentment against the Jew as an international force and pacifist. That very virtue which makes a certain class of Jew a citizen of humanity, a fighter and worker for international understanding, directs against him and his people the national passions. International peace is denounced as a coward's dream, and Judaism as a religion of weaklings. Even within the Socialist body, which received from its latter-day Jewish prophets the idea of an international and world-wide communion, the national resentment against the foreigner has fostered, in our time, a hybrid form of National Socialism in which the Jew appears as the arch enemy, and "Marxism" as the root of evil. The Jew Marx "sets a curse on the whole race." It is the international element of his teaching which evokes the fury of the priests of self-sufficient nationalism. And the Jew suffers from this, that he is not only a proletarian in a particular State, but a member of a homeless proletarian nation.

On the other side, a fierce attack is made on the International Jewish capitalist, largely by the

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national Gentile capitalist. A school of capitalistic Anti-Semites, among whom Henry Ford in America was distinguished, have made the "International Jew" and the "Golden International" their chief point of onslaught. Ford, indeed, was convinced by the facts brought to his notice that his accusations against the Jews of an International Capitalist Organisation were without foundation; and in 1927 he emphatically retracted the statements made by him. Nevertheless, the German Anti-Semite maintains his campaign both against the International Capitalism of the Jewish millionaire and the International Socialism of the Marxist Proletarian; and Hitler fantastically writes of "the Marxist fighting troops"—(the Jewish S.A.)—"of the International Jewish Stock Exchange Capitalism."

Another motive of Anti-Semitism derives from faults of the Jews which have been engendered by centuries of persecution and repression. Homer said that he who deprives a man of his liberty takes away half his virtue; and the continued insecurity and persecution for centuries, together with the denial of civil rights and opportunity to the Jews of the Ghetto, have produced, inevitably, unlikeable qualities in the "Children of the Ghetto." The less serious are worldliness, pushfulness, ostentation and showiness in dress and manner of life; the graver are sharp practice and harshness in financial transactions and fraud in business. Moreover, when the Jew throws off

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the discipline of his Judaism and "wanders between two worlds," he is apt to display a gross materialism of life. He turns like those who came out of Egypt to the worship of the Golden Calf and becomes like the Phœnician, upbraided by Nehemiah, who sells fish in Jerusalem on the Sabbath. He degenerates not only morally but also physically, when he ceases to be true to his tradition. In the mass of the modern city a more thorough demoralisation, following on the broken hold of the religious life and the weakening of family solidarity, has affected a section of the young generation. Jewish gangsters and hooligans and purveyors of vice are not infrequent in New York and other towns; and a degenerate type of Jew is prominent in the provision of the less reputable forms of entertainment. That outcome of demoralisation is not peculiar to the Jew, but in his case it is stigmatised as a Jewish character, and imputed to his people. Shylock and Fagin in literature are taken as the Jewish types. It is the way of the persecutor to point to the faults which persecution has produced in the persecuted in order to justify the continuance of oppression; and the Anti-Semite makes the Jewish people responsible for the faults or crimes of the individual Jew.

When, at the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, Gortchakoff, the Russian Plenipotentiary, opposed the grant of equal citizenship to the Jews of Rumania, on the ground that the Jews of that

country and of Russia were very different from those of Berlin, Paris, or London, and were a pest in the society, Bismarck dryly observed that the alleged difference in the character of the Jews might be attributable to the restriction of civil rights. Every country, it is said, has the Jews which it deserves. But one of the troubles in the post-War period has been caused by the Jewish *déracinés*, the flotsam and jetsam of the wreck of Russian Jewry, who pass uneasily from country to country, evoking hostility wherever they go, "the Ishmaels and Hagars of mankind."

Another cause of dislike, which derives partly from their virtues, is the pride or arrogance of the Jews. Formerly it was a spiritual pride, arising from the conviction that they had a supreme religious truth and a religious message for mankind. To-day, when that conviction has been weakened, it has become rather a racial pride, a feeling that the Jews are superior in intelligence; and that attitude provokes hostility. It is partly, perhaps mainly, a retort to oppression, a subconscious resistance to the charge of inferiority and a compensation for the sense of weakness.

It is another motive of anti-Jewish feeling both in Europe and America, particularly amongst the student classes, that the Jew takes a disproportionate place in the universities, academies and high schools. That love of learning which he has inherited from generations of students in his

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own religious schools compels the emancipated Jewish parent to make immense sacrifices in order that his children may get the best possible secular education. And so the universities in Germany and other European countries have received a number of Jews far greater than the Jewish ratio of the population. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe, pre-Soviet Russia, Rumania, Hungary, Austria, and in more recent times, the United States, openly or covertly set a limit to the number who will be admitted to the universities and similar institutions on the basis of their proportion to the population. That has only driven the students to seek higher education in countries which are still innocent of such a limitation. They have turned to Switzerland, Italy, Holland and France. The students' migration, again, tends to arouse fresh Anti-Semitic feeling in the countries in which they have sought an asylum of learning. For there is a scholarly as well as an economic point of saturation. A wise Jewish essayist of the last generation gave his advice for the solution of the Jewish problem: "Make fools of your children."

All the different elements of Anti-Semitism have received an amazing development in Germany since the War, and have led to the outbreak of a persecution of the Jews more merciless and more terrible than any since the darkest days of the Middle Ages. The National-Socialist Government that came into power in 1933 has as a

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primary object of its policy the exclusion of the Jew from all public and professional life, his economic ruin, and his degradation to an inferior caste. The non-Aryan is debarred from citizenship because of his race, and denied human rights. To the old elements of envy, dislike, and hatred there has been added a neurotic and emotional reaction of pent-up resentments against all things foreign which derive from the humiliations and sufferings of Germany after the War. Brutal instincts and crude elemental desires for a purgation of the emotions through hatred and oppression of others also have their part. The Jew is made to appear by incessant and unscrupulous propaganda as the cause of the political, social, and moral troubles of Germany, as the enemy of the ancient German morals, as a conspirator against the German nation and the White race. In a country which was forced by suffering and frustrated national pride to find a scapegoat and a devil, he has been made to fill the double part; and in casting him out from society the governing party proclaims that it will bring salvation and healing. A fundamental article of the Nazi programme declares: "No Jew may be a member of the Nation." The aim is to extirpate everything Jewish, books, thought, and art, in Germany.

As it is put in one of the pamphlets of the National-Socialists: "The Jew is the cause and beneficiary of our national slavery. He has ruined our race, rotted our morals, hollowed out our

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way of life, and broken our strength." Germany, in her suffering, which was the outcome of the militarism of the old order, has vented her hatred on the Jew rather than on those who were responsible for her plight.

The hatred extends to all who have any Jewish blood in their veins, even from the third or fourth generation. It demands either the permanent subjection or the forced or voluntary departure of the Semite and any mixed offspring of Semite and Aryan. No form of assimilation will save the Jew any longer, as it did in former periods of persecution, neither baptism nor intermarriage. Racial admixture, indeed, becomes a cardinal sin, because of fostering impurity in the noble German stock. The Jew is described as the offspring of a corrupting mixture of Asiatic races. He possesses no redeeming quality. His solidarity is only an exaggerated instinct for self-preservation. He stands together with his fellows only when he is compelled to do so by a common danger, or attracted by a common prey. As soon as these disappear, "the united people at once turn into a rabble of rats fighting each other." His intellect is essentially destructive, and he aims at bringing down the Aryan civilisation. He pretends to be the friend of Labour, and permeates it with doctrines which deprive nations of their racial character, and thereby destroy the foundation of all human civilisation. He paralyses the intellectual class through the agency of pacifism. His aspira-

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tion for a national home is designed only to secure him a place where he may organise his conspiracy against the world.

This is the philosophy of Jewish history which has been composed, as a Gospel, by Adolf Hitler, the Chancellor of the German Empire, and is the basis of the policy of the German Government. That policy is being relentlessly and rapidly executed. The Jew is driven from every department of public life, from the professions, the universities, the Press, the theatre, the big business he has himself created, private employment, and the trade unions. As in the days of the struggle with Rome, during the first two centuries of the Christian era, the cry has gone up "Judea must perish." And it has become a conviction of a mass of the people.

It is a sad reflection that the victories of the spirit are never won permanently; they have to be achieved again in each generation. It was thought in the latter part of the nineteenth century that the principles of religious and political liberty for the Jew had been vindicated in Europe and America, and would be preserved against any forces of reaction. The experiences of the twentieth century, and particularly of the years since the World War, have shown the hollowness of that hope. There has been a widespread return to the medieval conception of the State with the substitution of race for the Church; and the infection of German Anti-Semitism threatens to

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spread abroad. For like physical diseases it is potentially in every individual. The new attack against the Jew is made primarily upon the ground of race and not of religion; it is more virulent than the old discrimination, and less readily removed by the arguments of reason and humanity. Some of the fundamental principles of modern civilisation are at stake; for the attack on the Jew is combined with a violent offensive against freedom of thought and freedom of conscience, democracy, and the pursuit of international peace. In that fight the forces of progress and humanity must be allied.

Within the Jewish community it should be possible to remove the motive of Anti-Semitism which is based on the economic maladjustment or the demoralisation of sections of the Jewish people. The outburst of hatred in Germany has already awakened the dormant Jewish conscience of a part of the Jewish community both in and out of Germany. Persecution is a kind of purge. And many Jews whose Judaism seemed an outworn creed are now conscious of a call to a fuller Jewish life. Moreover, the spiritual heartening of the Jewries of the dispersion, which is to be expected from the establishment of the spiritual centre in Palestine, should give a fresh dignity and self-respect to the Jew the world over. The Jew, as the upholder in his conduct of the religion of humanity, will in the end prevail against a creed which denies humanity. Yet, primarily and essen-

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tially Anti-Semitism is a disease of the Gentile society. It can be removed only by the restoration of healthy conditions and of reason and humanity in the Gentile society.

CHAPTER V

THE MODERN JEWISH CONTRIBUTION

THE Jew, for 2,500 years, has refused to surrender to the world, or give up his individuality. For the greater part of that time he was conscious, in virtue of the divine promise to his ancestors, of having a special mission and a particular contribution to make to humanity. He was to spread the idea of the Universal God, who demanded righteousness and social justice of man and was the father of all peoples. The working of the divine plan and the moral law, as he believed, was exemplified in human history; the Jewish survival was a testimony to that plan; and the human progress was to lead finally to the universal rule of the Law. The Jew in the Græco-Roman society held certain fundamental ideas which were different from those of his environment. He believed in the improvement of mankind, in a progress towards a better order. While the pagan peoples placed perfection in the Golden Age of the past, the Hebrew looked for it in the coming of the Messiah in the future. He believed also in the spreading of his ideas, not by political domination or the rule of individuals, but by the

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service of the whole people. The pagan philosophers conceived the universal law founded on reason which should govern all mankind, and the single government of humanity; the Jewish teachers conceived a mission for their scattered communities, to spread by precept and example the knowledge of their universal law and of the Supreme Law-giver. They were "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."

For one thousand years after the first destruction of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the Jew pursued his mission actively by proselytising. When that activity was made impossible—save in the remotest corners of the dispersion—by the prohibition of the Church-State, he had to maintain his testimony passively and by example. Meantime the principal moral teachings of his law, and some of the principles of his Monotheism, were spread through the world by the two religions which were derived from his teaching and his Bible, Christianity and Islam. Throughout the Middle Ages he continued to exercise a definite religious function by upholding in life and proclaiming in letters his special outlook upon God and the world, and thereby maintaining the causes of freedom of thought and freedom of conscience. He conferred a further service upon Western civilisation in that period, in that he was a principal intermediary between the Moslem and the Christian peoples, and so helped to carry, first, the heritage of the Greek civilisation into the Arab

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culture, and later the Arab philosophy and science, based on that older civilisation, into the Latin culture. The Jews were the successors of that other Semitic people, the Phœnicians, who, in the beginning of human history, first traded over the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and carried with them together with their merchandise the alphabet and the art of writing. Their greatest service was the harmony of Hebraic monotheism with the Greek metaphysics and physics. Scholastic philosophy starts out from their principles.

From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century the mass of the Jews, as we have seen, were more cut off than ever before from the life of the larger society, and were unable to make a direct contribution either to the religious or the intellectual life of the Gentiles. Small communities among them were, indeed, prominent in the commercial and economic development of Europe, and individuals influenced deeply the march of thought. In particular, the philosopher Baruch Spinoza, who sprang from their small congregation in the Netherlands, was one of the determining influences in modern philosophy and also in modern political science.* Throughout this period of inner darkness, too, the Hebraic influence was maintained and amplified in Western civilisation by the Protestant, and particularly the Puritan, sects of Christianity, through the devoted study

* It is notable that Spinoza in his *Theologico-Political Tractate* repudiates any Jewish pre-eminence in regard to intellect and inspiration. He rejects the idea of the Chosen People in that sense.

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of Hebraic and Jewish literature, not only the Bible but also the Talmud and the mystical depository of the Kabbala.

At the end of the eighteenth century, and during the nineteenth century, the Jews were able to step out of the Ghetto again into a larger and more human atmosphere. When that happened, paradoxically many of their leaders thought that they had no longer a Jewish message to deliver to the Gentile. The cry went up "out of the Ghetto into the human." So the emancipated Jew tended to drop his conscious Judaism, to become a Jacob without the ladder. Some, indeed, who had abjured the Jewish faith, or were the children of such and had been brought up as Christians, were conscious of the special spiritual heritage of the Jew. Thus Benjamin Disraeli, who was a confessing member of the Anglican Church, used to declare that the Jews stood for the spiritual principle in our civilisation, and unfortunately did not recognise their function. During the nineteenth century the Jews might have been a conscious agent of humanity and international brotherhood. Individuals among them were that; but the communities were not. Religiously they ceased to be creative; and in contact with the Gentiles they whittled away their faith.

On the other hand, the Jews, in that period and in our time, have made an extraordinary intellectual contribution to Western civilisation. It has been said of them that they are "born

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educated"; and they have a stored-up experience greater than that of other peoples. Ethnologists explain this intellectual eminence by the regard which for generations they have had for learning, so that the scholar was the favoured type of husband; and also by the law of survival of the fittest which preserved the strongest and most intelligent through generations of repression. It is remarkable that, in the first generation after their emancipation in Western Europe, they produced in England the economist Ricardo, the statesman Benjamin Disraeli, and the astronomer, Herschell; in Germany the poet, Heine, the musical composer, Felix Mendelssohn, the founders of Socialism, Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle; in France the statesman Cremieux, the actress, Rachel, and the composers, Halevy and Meyerbeer; in Italy, Manin, who, born in the same year as Disraeli, inspired the Venetian Revolution of 1848. In our day they have given to Europe several of her outstanding thinkers: Einstein, Michelson and Cassirer in Germany, Freud in Austria, Bergson in France, Professor Alexander in England. What the world has gained in the last century and a half is an indication of what it lost during the preceding centuries. Of the one hundred and fifty winners of the Nobel prize awarded between 1901 and 1930 to the most distinguished men of all peoples in constructive ideas, there were fourteen Jews eminent in science, literature and the furtherance of peace. And it

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has been proved that in modern times a determinate number of Jews will produce a larger number of geniuses than any equal number of men of other races. German Jews in particular have been quantitatively, and to a great extent qualitatively, at the head of European intellect. It is true that many of the famous men of Jewish origin ceased to belong to the Jewish community, and their contribution was in large part due to influences other than Jewish. It was not, then an absolute Jewish contribution, like that of the prophets of the Bible or the philosophers of the Middle Ages. Yet their origin, their race, and their tradition did affect and mould their genius. And circumstances had made them intellectual. For reason, it is said, is a portable commodity like money.

It may seem strange that the Jews should produce in modern times outstanding philosophers, scientists, artists, and statesmen. For they were not distinguished in these ways in the Bible times, or in the early centuries of the Christian era. Circumstances, however, have changed the expression if not the nature of their genius. What all of them have from their race is "a vital energy and resistance in which the individual member seems to share." The Jews as a people and as individuals are determined to live and achieve. Their philosophical distinction would seem, indeed, to be more directly connected with their old religious genius. They have a remarkable

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synthetic power which is analogous to their creative monotheism. Professor Alexander, the contemporary philosopher, has suggested that the distinctive character of the philosophy of Jews, which he finds exemplified in Spinoza and in Bergson, is the blending of empiricism and mysticism. The doctrine of nature culminates in a mystical union, which, in Spinoza's teaching, was "the intellectual love of God."

The statesman's genius which is exemplified variously, in England by Benjamin Disraeli, Edwin Montagu, Lord Reading and Herbert Samuel, in Germany by Stahl, Lassalle and Rathenau, in Italy by Luzzatti, may be explained on the one hand by the vision, and on the other by the freedom from national prejudice which marks the highest type of Jew. It is not restricted to one outlook, liberal, conservative or socialist. Disraeli brought to English politics a special romantic quality which seemed to his contemporaries an oriental trait, and is in line with the romantic colour of the Jewish diplomatists of the Middle Ages. The circumstances of his race, too, have intensified for the Jew the feeling of a common humanity which makes him, in fuller measure than others, understand and sympathise with the feelings of different classes, nations, and races.

His distinction in the theoretical and practical sciences, which is more peculiar to our time, has been ascribed by a living Jewish physicist to "a supreme power of abstraction from common

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reality." The vitality of the Jewish race, it is said, appears to be capable of discharging itself along both emotional and unemotional channels with equal strength; and the history of science owes a profound debt to that power of self-detachment possessed by one of the most highly emotional races. Social oppression and ostracism arouse a desire to escape into the realms of theory and speculation, and away from the world of men, motives, and suspicions. It is to this power that the contributions to science of Jewish physicists like Einstein, Lippmann and Michelson may be racially attributed. On the other hand, it is significant that a Jewish physician, Sigmund Freud, discovered the part played by a feeling of inferiority in the psychical life, and thereby developed the new science of psycho-analysis.

The contributions in the field of applied science—electricity, chemistry and medicine, have been equally remarkable, and may be ascribed to the power of intense concentration which is a form of Jewish vitality and purposefulness. Surveying the records of German scientists during the last fifty years, the name of Heinrich Hertz stands out in the field of electricity, that of Paul Ehrlich in the field of medicine, and that of Haber in the field of chemistry. The "Hertzian waves," from which wireless telegraphy and telephony have been developed, have played a striking part in binding the world intellectually together.

It is another manifestation of the same quality

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that the Jew excels in the most intellectual of pastimes, the game of chess. Almost every champion of the game during the last century has been a Jew or of Jewish origin.

Their distinction in the legal profession is a natural outcome of their long devotion to the study of their own system of law, embodied in the Talmud and later Rabbinical codes, which formed their principal mental training. If large parts of that system had no application in practice, yet the disputations in the schools sharpened their dialectical powers. Since the emancipation they have been eminent in the judicial, the forensic and the academic branches of law. Sir George Jessel in England, and Eduard Simson, President of the Reichstag of the North German Confederation and subsequently President of the Supreme Court of the German Empire, Brandeis and Cardozo, now on the Supreme Bench of the United States, stand out as judges; Adolphe Crémieux, Minister of Justice in the French Provisional Government of 1848; Judah Benjamin, one time Minister of the Confederate States and afterwards the leading commercial counsel in England, and Rufus Isaacs, Attorney-General and afterwards Chief Justice of England, as advocates; Preuss, the chief author of the Weimar Constitution, Libermann, the historian of Anglo-Saxon law, Redlich of Austria, and Lyon-Caen, the doyen of the legal faculty in Paris, as academic expounders of law.

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The Jewish distinction in the artistic, and particularly the musical, life of modern times is, on the other hand, due to their remarkable emotional power. Oppression and suffering have developed that quality. Some of the wonderful interpreters of music among them, especially the child prodigies, play with an impersonal mastery which represents the subconscious experience of the race. It is true, at the same time, that scarcely any Jew has reached the highest rank of creative composition. The modern composers, Mahler, Schonberg, Bloch, for example, have a glittering talent and a striking originality, but they lack supreme creative powers. That may be due to the fact that they are not rooted in the national soil; for the greatest art, while universal and international in its appeal, is the expression of a national genius, and rooted in a country. In the plastic arts, again, the Jews have not yet produced outstanding men in the same class as their philosophers and scientists. But their painters and sculptors, like Antokolsky in Russia, Epstein in England, Picasso in France, are marked by a certain daringness, Israels in Holland, by a love of common humanity.

They have rarely been distinguished in architecture: and yet amongst modern German architects Messel and Erich Mendelssohn manifest the daring quality. In the theatre they have been distinguished equally as dramatists, actors and producers in many countries. Their genius for entertainment is bound up with the acquired capacity for assim-

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lation and imitation. They have, to an extraordinary degree, developed the art of the cinema alike in its artistic and its crudely commercial aspects.

In literature they have given only one genius of the first rank, Heinrich Heine, who exemplifies the daring and the originality that are characteristic of the exponents of the other arts. They have produced, however, a number of poets, dramatists, novels and prose writers of the second rank who possess an exceptional power of interpretation. Some of them have excelled in the description of the Jewish people itself, such as Israel Zangwill, Emma Lazarus, Edmond Fleg, Feuchtwanger and Lewisohn. Others have interpreted the general society with peculiar insight. Notable among them are Schnitzler in Austria, Wassermann and Arnold Zweig in Germany, Querido in Holland, André Maurois in France, Brandes in Denmark. Jews or half-Jews have led the new literature movements of Central Europe, expressionism, symbolism and the like: in Austria von Hofmannsthal, Kafka, Werfel and Zweig, in Germany Wedekind and Toller.

A power of sympathetic analysis and acute sensibility may be detected as Jewish qualities in literature. It has been pointed out, for example, in the works of Marcel Proust, who had a Jewish mother, and was conscious of the influence of the Jewish racial strain. Another quality of Jewish writing, and also of Jewish life, is a certain

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conflict between the racial heritage and the environment. Proust himself noted that "in the Jews an Oriental and oppressed heredity conflicts with more or less unformed desires to assimilate themselves." And the two outstanding Jews of the first part of the nineteenth century, Heine and Disraeli, each in their own way illustrate that conflict. The biographer of Disraeli, Mr. Money-penny, has put it: "There is a spirit of revolutionary mockery ever struggling in both with the mysticism of the Hebrew, so that they appear to be the most impossible compounds of Voltaire and Spinoza."

Contrasted with this characteristic is their faculty of assimilating in a superlative degree the character, the virtues and the aberrations of their environment. The poem engraved on the statue of Liberty in New York Harbour is by the Jewess Emma Lazarus; the German "Hymn of Hate" was written during the World War by a Jew, Lissauer; the school-song of the Manchester Grammar School was composed by an immigrant Jewish boy who had been but a few years in England.

Apart, however, from their distinction in philosophy and science, law and finance, literature and the arts, which is due to acquired intellectual and emotional qualities, individual Jews have been eminent in modern times in two large causes which are more clearly a heritage of their Judaism and of their religious and moral contribution

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from the past. In the first place they stand as protagonists for social justice, for a better order of society in every country. In the second place, they stand for a better international order, and for understanding and peace between the nations. They have not, of course, a monopoly of these movements, but they are the pacemakers in them, and that is due to the influence both of their religion and their history. Others have adopted the Hebraic outlook; Jews are still its champions. They not only long for the Golden Age, but consciously and passionately try to bring it about. Throughout their long history they have been marching towards the Promised Land. They are not satisfied with society as it is; they are Messianic and dynamic and work to hasten the Millennium for all mankind. As Augustine put it: "The Hebrew nation is one great prophecy." They are like yeast in the dough, or, in the Gospel phrase, the salt of the earth. It is part of their faith that man may move forward to a glorious future; and their outstanding thinkers have a certain cosmic force, and look at things in terms of the universe.

The Jewish ferment is violent and disturbing where oppression and repression in the past have destroyed mental tranquillity. Hard circumstances make them revolutionary in many countries, and they call for radical change. In our day, Jews have stirred the masses to strike for a new international social order; Trotsky

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in Russia, Bela Kun in Hungary, Rosa Luxemburg and Eisner in Germany. "Workers of the World, unite!" was the slogan of the First International of Marx. Yet it is significant in this connection that the Jewish Socialists in the Jewish National Home are opposed to violent revolution and are realising their ideals by peaceful methods and moral suasion.

The Jewish leaders of Socialism have usually ceased to be religious or professing Jews. Their claim is to get beyond the particular religion or nation to the human or universal idea; but none the less the root of their thought is to be found in the Hebrew Bible. Judaism has always been a religion of this world, laying stress on conduct rather than belief, on works more than faith, directed towards the perfection of life on earth. Social justice has been part of its ideal from the most ancient times. Henry George pointed out that by his institution of the Sabbath, the Sabbatical Year and the Jubilee, Moses was the first teacher of Socialism; and the Hebrew prophets continually harped on social righteousness and denounced the grinding of the face of the poor. The fact that Jews have been oppressed, and are still oppressed in many countries, has stimulated their feeling for humanity. As has been pointed out by a Jewish social reformer who has a seat on the Supreme Bench of the United States, persecution has broadened their sympathies; it has trained them in patience, endurance, self-control

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and sacrifice; it has made them think as well as suffer, it has deepened the passion for righteousness.

With regard to international peace and understanding, circumstances and the heritage from the past together have combined to make some Jews leaders in international movements. The Jews of the Middle Ages have been called "the first Europeans." The Jews of our epoch are among the first "citizens of the world." It is made to-day a damning charge against the Jews of Germany that they work for pacifism and international arbitration. Even in England a, perhaps, insignificant Anti-Semitic section warns men against the peace movement, because it is "a Jewish conspiracy." That conspiracy has at least an ancient lineage. The prophets of the Old Testament inspired the vision of universal peace: "When nation shall not lift up the sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." The conviction of the oneness of humanity, of the nations being members of one human family, has remained throughout their history strong and vivid. It was the teaching of the rabbis, in times of the bitterest persecution by the Church, that all who led good lives amongst the Gentiles were assured of a portion in the world to come; and the Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages, Maimonides, asserted that the whole teaching of the law is "because of the ways of peace." That is a variation of the Biblical com-

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mand, to "love thy neighbour as thyself." The Jews, too, have learned by experience the bitter doom of war, whatever the issue, to the Jewish communities in one country or the other. Over and over again they have been, in the countries of the victorious as well as of the vanquished, the helpless victims of national reaction which attends or follows war.

Owing to the fact that most of them have not been rooted in any one European country as long as the other inhabitants, they are charged with being wanderers; and in spite of the impressive figures of their war service everywhere in the World-war, their loyalty is called into question. On the other hand their dispersion makes them more free than other sections of the people from national prejudice, and enables them to look with more objectivity upon questions between nations. Because they are in a country and not altogether of it, they can look beyond the nation, and can voice the cause of humanity.

The international action of the Jew is a figment of political opinion: the international mind of the Jew is a factor in political institutions. Two Jews in the last generation were awarded the Nobel prize on account of their work for peace: Fried, a protagonist in the movement for international arbitration, and Asser, one of the original members of The Hague International Tribunal. Distinguished international jurists in this generation include Professor Kelsen of Vienna—now exiled

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from Cologne University—and Professor Caviglieri of Italy. Outside the ranks of the jurists, modern Jews have stood out as authors of constructive ideas for world peace. In the last generation the Polish-Jewish banker, De Bloch, by his book on *The Future of War*, which moved the advisers of the Tsar of Russia, was one of the principal influences that led to the calling of the first Hague Peace Conference in 1899; and Zamenhof created an international language, Esperanto, which counts its votaries in every land. In our generation, a Jewish lawyer of Chicago, Salmon Levinson, conceived, during the course of the World-struggle, the idea of the outlawry of war, which led on, ten years later, to the signing of the Pact of Paris by nearly all the States of the world. The Jews, indeed, as a community are not as united for peace as the Quakers, and they have not often, as a community, the international outlook. But individuals among them, who embody their genius, have a strong and intense conception of the unity of mankind, and give to it, by a characteristic combination of the realist and the visionary, a practical and concrete application. If the Jewish people collectively were dominated by the Hebraic principle, it might be an incalculable force in promoting the understanding of nations.

The establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine lays a special obligation and a special test on the Jewish people with relation to

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its international and pacifist ideals. They may order their conduct in relation to the other nationality in Palestine in such a way that the cause of peace may be served by example, as well in Palestine as in the larger world. Herzl, the founder of Zionism, records in his diary the ethical testament which he framed for the Jewish people:

“Build up your home in such manner that the stranger may feel happy in your midst.”

The doctrine of human brotherhood and the pursuit of peace between peoples should become part of the morality of the Jewish people in Palestine. The Jews have attained, there and outside, a degree of internal brotherhood stronger, perhaps, than that which links any other people. They are proud of their social institutions in the National Home, and of the strides already made in the foundation of a better social order. They have in Palestine the chance to extend that brotherhood to their neighbours, and to make, so far as they can, of the whole population a microcosm of human society enjoying peace within and peace without. In that little land they may be the standard-bearers of the cause of an altruistic nationalism.

The Jewish contribution in our time, whether in the field of philosophy, science, literature or art, social justice or international peace, has been

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made hitherto by the action of individual geniuses, and has not been a corporate or national contribution. In that way it is contrasted with the contribution made by the Jews of the ancient and medieval world. Now that the Jews are restoring their national life in a physical home, they will be able again to make their corporate contribution. Every people, like every plant or tree, seems to require a soil to produce its best fruits, and it was from their own soil that the Jews produced their religious and spiritual excellence. Restored to the life on the soil of Palestine, they may produce there something of the kind, an International of the spirit, that will have a universal value for modern civilisation. Certain it is that some development of their old teaching, presented afresh to meet new conditions, is an urgent need of our troubled and distracted society, so as to bring unity into the chaos of our unethical political system and into the baffling diversity of our knowledge.

The supreme peril threatening civilisation is the idolatry of the Nation-State, which is as false to the principle of Monotheism, and as destructive of the moral law, as the ancient paganism of Greece or Rome. As, two thousand years ago, the influence of Judea helped to destroy that crude idolatry, so to-day it may help to destroy its modern offspring. To that end the idea of nationality must be inspired with the ethical and spiritual idea of humanity, so that the nation

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may be, as Mazzini described it, the link between individual man and God. And Judaism which recognises nationalism as well as the universal brotherhood should be a force in that transformation.

George Eliot, who wrote her novel *Daniel Deronda* round the theme of the Jewish return to Palestine, spoke of the new Judea "poised between East and West, as a covenant of reconciliation between the peoples. . . . There will be a community in the van of the East which carries the cultures and sympathies of every nation in its bosom. There will be a land set for the halting-place of enmities." She may have been thinking primarily of the Jews as an influence for bringing Eastern and Western peoples nearer together. And the people who are Oriental in origin, have lived for centuries in the West and imbibed its culture and science, and are now carrying them to the East, are fitted for that service. To-day it is the East which calls for a sympathetic interpreter of the thought of the West, just as some eight hundred years ago the West called for an interpreter of the thought of the East. The Jews who rendered the service of carrier at that time are qualified to render it again to-day. But they may be something more than middle-men. Their universal outlook may enable their highest geniuses to make another and more original contribution to civilisation. In the sphere of knowledge and culture the mass

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of mankind needs a synthetic idea which will harmonise the religious outlook and faith with the discoveries of science that have been unparalleled during the last century. It has been said that those discoveries are a constant hymn to God; but for many the old religious picture of the Universe has been shattered. It may be the function of the Jews to reconcile their religious conception, which is derived from the Orient, with the scientific knowledge of the Universe, which has been derived from the Western heritage. Anyhow, it is not extravagant to believe that Jewish thinkers, successors to the prophets and poets of the Bible who gave mankind its most universal literature, and successors to Spinoza, Bergson and Einstein, who have in different ways shown the power of unifying knowledge by a mystic vision of the whole, will help to guide men towards that harmony.

CHAPTER VI

THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOPE

THE Jewish National movement, which is known to-day as Zionism, is as old as the first captivity of the Jewish people. The later prophets of the Old Testament declared over and over again their faith in the return of the Jews to their land; and throughout the ages the people have repeated the pledge of the exiles of Babylon: "If I forget thee, oh Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning." When Cyrus, the Persian king, proclaimed the return, only a small remnant went up from Babylon to the Land of Israel. The greater part of the Jewish people have, for 2,500 years, been dispersed among the nations. But so long as the second Temple stood, and, indeed, for some centuries after it was destroyed by the Romans, all the scattered congregations looked to Palestine as the National Home, and to Jerusalem as the metropolis and religious centre of Israel.

When the hatred and oppression of the Christianised Roman Empire finally proscribed Jewish settlement in Palestine, it might have been expected that the communities of the Diaspora would lose

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their national cohesion, and become simply a separate religious denomination. That did not happen. Though the spiritual as well as the political centre was denied them, the Jews carried an intense love of Palestine into the exile and kept it vivid by their feasts and fasts, their memories of the Land, and their yearning for the return. Every Passover the Jew has exclaimed: "Next year in Jerusalem." The most picturesque of many symbolic ceremonies is the breaking of a glass by the bridegroom, at the end of the wedding celebration, so that he may reflect, in the moment of his joy, upon the destruction of Jerusalem. The principal festivals of the Jewish calendar each celebrate one of the harvests of Palestine, and their ceremonial is associated with Eastern nature. Disraeli makes the heroine of his Palestine romance "Tancred" exclaim: "The race that persists in celebrating the vintage, though it has no fruit to gather, will in time regain its vineyards." And the Jews have illustrated the French saying: "*Qui n'a pas un pays a du moins une patrie.*" The thread of their history in Palestine, though frayed for long to the point of breaking, was never severed. And a Jewish remnant hung on in the land, the earnest of the final restoration.

Time and again, during the early centuries of the Christian era, the Jews sought to give effect to their abiding hope and longing for the land by rising against the oppressor. Julian, the apos-

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tate Emperor who made the last struggle for paganism against Christianity, invited them back to Jerusalem to rebuild the Temple. A century later the Jews joined the army of the Persian king when he invaded Palestine, and took part with him in the capture of Jerusalem, only to be massacred there when it was recaptured by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius. Fifty years thereafter, when the Arab tribesmen swept over the Byzantine Empire in their miraculous conquest, the Jews were able to return to the Holy Land, to build synagogues and revive their schools. A Messiah, in Kurdistan, under the Moslem rule in the twelfth century dreamed of re-conquering the Holy Land for his people. His story is told in Disraeli's romance, *Alroy*, which the author declared to portray his ideal ambition. During the long epoch of the Middle Ages, while the Cross and the Crescent struggled for possession of the Holy Land, the Jewish people resigned themselves to passive longing in exile. Their poets in Spain wrote songs to Zion: Yehuda Halevi, the most famous among them, came out to Zion to die. Scholars and rabbis settled there when the Moslem power was re-established; and after the expulsion from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century, some thousands of refugees found a home in the four towns deemed specially holy, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias and Safed. They made the mountain fastnesses of Galilee, which had been a refuge for scholars in the days of the

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Roman persecution, a new centre of Jewish scholarship and mysticism.

A thousand years of exile had transformed the love of Zion from an active to a contemplative feeling; and the sages in Palestine sought to hasten the advent of the Messiah by mystical speculations. One notable attempt, however, was made, at this period, to give a more practical direction to the longing for the return. Don Joseph Nasi, the descendant of a secret Jew of Spain, who had accompanied his mother to Turkey that they might practise their faith, became the trusted counsellor and diplomatist of the Sultan Selim II in the latter part of the sixteenth century; and obtained from him the grant of a tract of land in Galilee and a permit to rebuild the town of Tiberias and populate it with Jews. Exiles were brought from Italy, and the descendants of this miniature national restoration may still be found tilling the soil of Galilee. But circumstances were unpropitious for a large migration, and the Jews had not the power of concerted action to rebuild a home, to transform human yearning into human effort.

In the next century, however, the Jewish people throughout the world—and with them many Gentile sects and communities—were moved by the proclamation of a Jew of Smyrna, one Sabbatai Zevi, that he was the Messiah who would inaugurate the Kingdom of God in the Land of Israel. Thousands of Christians over Europe

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believed that the year 1666 was to see the fulfilment of prophecy; and wagers were taken in London that within a year the princes of the East would acknowledge the Jewish Messiah. It is curious that the request which was made to Cromwell by Menasseh Ben Israel for the readmission of the Jews to England had as one of its motives to complete the dispersion to the ends of the earth, which must precede the coming of the Messiah. The enterprise collapsed pitifully. Sabbatai Zevi was arrested, and succumbed to the first threats of the Ottoman Sultan. He accepted Islam, and many of his faithful adherents followed his example and formed a Moslem-Judaic sect. The effect of the hopeless attempt was to sap for generations the vigour of Oriental Jewry, and to bring about a terrible depression in western Jewry. The narrowing influences of the Ghetto had crippled the wings of the Jewish imagination, and impaired the Jewish power of action.

The Land of Israel, enshrined in their dreams and prayers, ceased to be a reality for the mass of the people; but in the middle of the eighteenth century, under the inspiration of a great Rabbi of Vilna, they started a movement, which has survived to our day, of establishing schools of rabbinical learning in the Holy Land, and supporting the scholars by the contribution of the Jews of the Diaspora. The movement known as the "Halukah," which means literally—the distribution of funds, led a steady trickle of pious

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Jews to the Holy towns. The settlement of the Jewish scholars may be compared with the establishment of the monastic orders in Palestine, which followed on the expulsion of the Crusaders. For the Jews, as for the Christians, the frustration of the hopes of temporal power was followed by the attempt to strengthen the spiritual tie.

When Napoleon invaded Palestine in 1799, in his attempt to march across Asia to India, he realised the undying appeal of the Land to the Jewish people, and issued an invitation to the Jews of Asia and Africa to enrol under his flag, in order to re-establish the ancient Kingdom of Jerusalem. His attempt to be the modern Cyrus had no more fruition than the attempt of Julian, the Apostate. But schemes for the return of the Jewish people to Palestine were formulated by the statesmen of England and France some forty years later, when they had to deal with the settlement of the Eastern question. The Jewish restoration was part of the faith of many Christian sects; and, indeed, the Zionist ardour appeared to be stronger and more active among the Gentiles than the Jews. In their enthusiasm for the ideas of the French Revolution and for civil emancipation, the Westernised Jewish leaders sought to suppress any separate national aspiration. While the peoples of Europe were reviving a dormant sense of nationality which led to the liberation of Holland, Belgium, Italy and the Balkan States, the Jews, who had for centuries retained a con-

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sciousness of nationality in spite of the unceasing repression, persecution and dispersion, sought to denationalise themselves. The price of civil and political emancipation was repudiation of national separateness.

Some, indeed, amongst their leaders were fired with a nobler hope. Sir Moses Montefiore, the first Jew to hold high municipal office in England, paid the first of seven visits to the Holy Land in 1837, and negotiated with Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mohamed Ali of Egypt who was then master of the country, for Jewish colonisation of the wasted spaces of the country. Before any plan of colonisation could be executed, Mohamed Ali was compelled by the European Powers to renounce his sway over Syria, and to restore the country to Turkish neglect. Montefiore had to restrict his efforts to the betterment of the conditions of the few thousand Jews who were living in the land. But a large part of his life was devoted to the effort to establish a Jewish peasantry on the ancestral soil. Jerusalem was inscribed in Hebrew letters on his coat-of-arms. He lived to see the beginning of the realisation; for in the 'eighties, under the stress of persecution, societies of Lovers of Zion sprang up in many Jewish communities, and bands of young men set out for the Holy Land, determined to reclaim the soil, and in redeeming the land, to redeem themselves.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century a change in the Jewish outlook towards Palestine

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was brought about on the one hand by the revival of their own national consciousness, on the other by the intensifying of the national feeling in Europe. In the development of the principles of the French Revolution the notion of the rights of man was amplified—and then obscured—by that of the rights of nationalities. At the same time the feelings of dislike and contempt for the Jew were stimulated in the less enlightened States of Europe. The Jew knew himself again to be a stranger. When not nationally conscious he was at least self-conscious. Jewish authors and teachers, modifying the old religious faith in the return with the modern ideas of nationality, began to call the people to “auto-emancipation” as against civil emancipation. It was only by possession of their own homeland that the Jews could recover their dignity and self-respect, and the respect of the Gentiles. Hess, a German-Jewish follower of Mazzini, in a book entitled *Rome and Jerusalem*, which was published in 1860, foretold that the liberation of Italy was a prelude to the resurrection of Judea. A similar idea found eloquent utterance in George Eliot’s *Daniel Deronda*. One of the Jewish characters in that novel, (which has already been quoted), utters the prophecy: “Revive the organic centre. Let the unity of Israel which has made the growth and form of its religion be an outward reality. Looking forward to a land of their own, our dispersed people in all the ends of the earth may share the

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dignity of a national life which has a voice among the peoples of the East and West, which will plant the wisdom and skill of our race so that it may be, as of old, a medium of transmission and understanding. The Jew will claim the brotherhood of his own nation, and carry it into a new brotherhood with the nations of the Gentiles." That was the positive and idealistic strain. There was, too, a negative impulse.

The new "hep hep" against the Jew was heard not only in the less enlightened States of Eastern Europe, but in the States which were the very sources of enlightenment. It was shouted, before the end of the century, in the streets of Paris. In answer to that cry of reaction came a call to "Israel a Nation." Zionism as an organised national movement was born in the last years of the nineteenth century, twenty years after the publication of *Daniel Deronda*, when Theodor Herzl called the idealists among the Jewish people to action.

He had been sent to Paris as special correspondent to report the Dreyfus case which then agitated France: and the shame of the anti-Jewish outburst awoke him suddenly to full Jewish consciousness. It stung him to the quick that Republican France, one hundred years after the declaration of the rights of man, should desire to damn a Jew, and in him all Jews. In the passion of the moment, and in ignorance still of the Jewish colonisation movement in Palestine, Herzl composed, out of

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his imagination, a scheme for creating a Jewish State by the combined effort of Jewish capitalists and the Jewish masses. He presented it to Baron de Hirsch, who was devoting his millions to the redemption of the victims of Russian and Rumanian persecution by their settlement on the soil. The man of ideas, however, could not convince the man of money; and turned from the philanthropist to the people. At once scattered groups of enthusiasts welcomed him as a leader, the deliverer for whom they were waiting; and he discovered that the new conviction which had been born in him was almost identical with the aspiration of his race. The idealists among them yearned, not, indeed, for a Jewish State, but for the revival of the Jewish nationality in its historical home; and the new Moses found straightway in many countries a following ready to be led.

As soon as Herzl came into touch with the modest efforts of his brethren, he abandoned the notion of an autonomous State anywhere in an empty land, which had leapt into his literary brain, and substituted for it that of the legally assured home in Palestine. The Jews needed the opportunity to develop themselves as a national community; and that depended as well on spiritual as on political freedom. A Russo-Jewish writer, known as Ahad Haam, i.e., One of the People, at the same time as Herzl called the people to action, called them—in Hebrew essays—to reflec-

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tion. He expounded the idea of a spiritual nationality, based, not on political authority, but on common language, common ideals, and common aspirations. The glamour of the outside culture, which dazzled the Jews as they stepped from the cave of the Ghetto into the illuminated world of Europe, had, for a time, overpowered that common consciousness in Western Jewry. Half tolerated, half scorned by their environment, they were sinking into scepticism and self-depreciation; the outer freedom was associated with an inner servitude. They must regain their national spirit, their national hope, their self-respect. Zionism, indeed, was a movement compounded of diverse factors, inspired by religious hopes, fed by racial sympathies, provoked by Anti-Semitism, and aspiring to national consciousness.

Herzl demanded for the Jewish people, in the first place, a public platform where the representatives of the scattered communities might meet as a Parliament to consult together as to the building up of a National Home in Palestine. To this end he summoned the first Zionist Congress at Basle, in 1897. The aim of the movement was defined at the Congress: "To obtain for the Jewish people in Palestine a National Home assured by public law." The methods which were adopted for its realisation were to rouse the Jewish masses to united action by propaganda, to establish a financial instrument by which to obtain from the Sultan a concession for large colonisation

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in Palestine, and to secure by diplomatic action the support of the European Powers for the Jewish settlement. The Congress, whose members are elected democratically by the payers of the Zionist shekel, has been held, with lapses caused by the War, every two years.

Herzl was the first Jewish statesman for nearly two thousand years who devoted his genius to his own people. His plans had something of poetical fancy and brilliant impossibility; but by the force of his personality he seemed, in the short span of life which remained to him—less than ten years—to be achieving the impossible and transmuting dream to reality. Without training in diplomacy and public affairs, he moved princes, chancellors and ministers to pay serious heed to his cause. He had audiences with the German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, in Berlin and Palestine, with the Sultan Abdul Hamid at Constantinople. He pleaded the Jewish cause with the Russian Premier, Plehve, at St. Petersburg, and he engaged the sympathies of Joseph Chamberlain, the English Colonial Secretary in London. So impressed, indeed, was Chamberlain, that, when the Charter for Jewish settlement in Palestine was withheld, he fell in with the suggestion of the Zionist leader for Jewish colonisation in a land under British administration neighbouring Palestine. An expedition explored the possibilities of settlement in the northern part of the Peninsula of Sinai, which was under Anglo-Egyptian rule; but

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irrigation was necessary to make the land habitable, no water could be spared from Egypt, and the scheme was perforce abandoned. Then came a dramatic turn. Chamberlain offered to the Zionists a territory for Jewish colonisation on an autonomous basis in British East Africa. That remote country, however, could not give the spiritual appeal, and the majority of Herzl's followers were not prepared to consider a "substitute national home."

Herzl, by a supreme effort, persuaded the Zionist Congress to appoint a Commission to survey the proffered territory. When he died, in the following year, his movement was still in the atmosphere of vision. He had not brought his people to the Land of Promise, but he had left them the precious heritage of an heroic remembrance. After his death the Zionist organisation, realising the immediate impossibility of larger schemes, turned to the development and expansion of the existing Jewish settlements in the country. A policy of peaceful penetration was pursued by the increase of Jewish influence, extension of the agricultural villages, and the establishment of cultural institutions in the Land. The number of Jewish inhabitants rose, in the thirty years before the War, from twenty-five thousand to seventy-five thousand. Of these some ten thousand were settled in rural villages, where they made the rose—and the orange—bloom in Sharon, and the vine cover again the slopes of the Judean

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Hills. There was a remarkable development of the trade of Jaffa and Haifa, and a beginning of industry, due to Jewish immigration.

Still more striking than the material regeneration of the land by Jewish energy, was the spiritual revival of the Jews themselves through the life on the land. Hebrew, which for two thousand years had been preserved as the language of liturgy and literature, became again the living tongue of the people. Hebrew elementary schools were established in the Jewish villages and the towns, and in the larger centres a modern education was imparted in secondary schools, both to boys and girls, through the historic language. The arts, too, were cultivated with a fresh enthusiasm, as they were in Ireland under the impulse of the Celtic revival. In the year preceding the outbreak of the World War, the Zionist Congress resolved on the establishment of a Hebrew University at Jerusalem. The University was to be the Jewish dreadnought, a defensive weapon against disintegration; and, like the Temple of old, it should form a visible centre for the scattered people living amid different environments, a rallying point for the Hebraic spirit. Its foundation stones were laid, in fact, during the Palestine campaign; and it was formally opened by Lord Balfour in 1925, in the presence of representatives of the world's cultures.

Already before the War the Jews looked to the Palestine settlement as a miniature of the people

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of Israel as it should be. In its deeper psychological aspect, Zionism was a demand for self-expression, and a means to self-respect, that the Jew should be proud of being a Jew. Palestine should be the spiritual centre as well as the national home, the local habitation where the Hebrew spirit, long warped by conflict with its environment, could freely express itself. An old rabbinical saying runs: "God will not come to the heavenly Jerusalem till Israel has come to the earthly Jerusalem"; and it was the Jewish faith that the people of Israel could not carry out their purpose, and spread the tenets of social justice, peace, and the brotherhood of man and of nations until they first revived their nationality, possessed again their spiritual and intellectual hearth and were conscious of a collective individuality.

Jewish Nationalism had become the most powerful popular movement among the Jews before the War; and the foundation of a National Home had been modestly laid. During the War, a new enthusiasm and content were given to the movement. On November 2, 1917, the day after the British capture of Gaza, the first town in Palestine on the line of advance against the Turks, a declaration was published by the British Government, over the signature of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Arthur Balfour. It ran thus: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to

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facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." The Principal Allied Powers joined Great Britain in the adoption of the establishment of a Jewish National Home as one of the War aims; and immediate effect was given to the Declaration by the British approval of the visit of a Zionist Commission to Palestine while the campaign was being fought in the land. Two years later a distinguished English Jew, Sir Herbert Samuel, was appointed as the first civil High Commissioner of the country that had been entrusted to Great Britain as Mandatory Power on behalf of the League of Nations.

The fifteen years which have passed since British administration was set up in Palestine have witnessed extraordinary progress in the fulfilment of the hope. The Jewish population which, in the stress of war, had fallen to fifty thousand has been multiplied four times. The number of Jewish villages has risen from fifty to over one hundred and forty, the area of land in Jewish hands from one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand acres. The Jews are, therefore, getting back to the land and establishing the aristocracy of the cottage. At the same time they are flocking to the towns and making Palestine a centre of industry, so that it

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promises to become in time the Belgium of the East. Jerusalem has a considerable Jewish majority in its ninety thousand inhabitants; and by the side of Jaffa a new Jewish city, named Tel-Aviv, the Hill of Spring, has arisen. At the time of the British occupation it was a small garden suburb of two thousand inhabitants; now it is a township of over sixty thousand, in which the whole public and social life is Jewish, and the language is Hebrew.

Palestine is already the power-house of Judaism, which generates, as it were, the spiritual electricity; and the national movement is to-day the deepest influence on Jewish life in the Diaspora. What was a dream thirty years ago has become an inspiring reality. The significance of the resettlement is twofold. In the first place, it provides the material and physical centre for the Jewish people, the country in which the Jew may develop according to his own genius, and to which the victims of persecution can look for a chance of free life. In the second place, it radiates national consciousness to the communities of the dispersion, and gives them a fresh pride and dignity. The spiritual centre is not an abstraction; but rather the expression of the mind in the physical home where the Jews live consciously as a national community, free on the one side from the degradation of persecution, and on the other from the temptations of assimilation. Palestine, with its two hundred thousand Jews drawn from all

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parts of the world, has become the acknowledged metropolis of the spirit for the fifteen million of the Diaspora. It exerts its influence partly by providing a pattern of Jewish life, and partly by what has been called "*la propagande ambiante des exemples*,"—by those individuals who going out from the new society carry its thought and sentiment to the congregations of other countries.

On its negative side Zionism is a reaction against the force of assimilation to the non-Jewish environment, against that loss of identity which seemed likely, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, to destroy the cohesion of the Jewish people in countries where they were free and emancipated. A Jewish sage of the last generation described it as a declaration to the world that Judaism means to preserve its life by not losing it. It finds expression in the cultural aspect among the dispersed communities, both in the endeavour to foster the Hebrew language and the knowledge of Jewish history and literature, and in literature and art on Jewish themes produced by Jews in the language and forms of the countries in which they dwell.

The more intense and, so to say, the purer expression of the Jewish culture inspired by Zionism is in the life of Palestine where both matter and form, subject and language, are determined by the Jewish spirit. The most striking contribution of this life hitherto has been the revival of Hebrew as the living language of the people. That has been accomplished within

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twenty-five years by a happy combination of the practical need of establishing a common language for those returning from all parts of the world, and of the ideal longing to make the language of the Bible once again the language of life. Hebrew is the historical, and, we may well believe, the necessary vehicle of Hebraism, since the language and thought of a people are bound up together. And Palestine has already inspired, though Russia nurtured, a Hebrew essayist, Ahad Ha'am, and a Hebrew poet, Bialik, of the first rank. In Palestine, again, the Hebrew system of education combines the study of the Bible, Jewish tradition and Jewish history with modern secular and scientific instruction. It is still in some ways defective, and bears the impress of the abnormal life from which many of its teachers have suffered in their own youth. But as the free society develops in the National Home, the system of education is bound to become healthier, in closer touch with nature and closer harmony with a new life.

In the arts the Jewish settlement is full of striving and conscious effort. Its achievement so far absolutely is small. The work of its painters and sculptors; the production of its native drama by bands of industrial and agricultural workers; the collections of Jewish melody and folk-song and the attempts to compose Oriental music; the production of Italian and German opera in Hebrew; the use of traditional Jewish emblems and motives in craft work—all these ebullitions

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may be criticised from the æsthetic and artistic aspect, but they represent, individually and together, a creative striving from which in the end something worth while will surely be produced. And greater than the achievements in the arts of life is the achievement in the art of living. Voluntary ardour, without State aid or revolutionary activity, is building up in Jewish Palestine a social order which attracts the attention of the world.

Sir Herbert Samuel, in his survey of Jewish life during the years of his administration, noted that the essential feature of the settlement was the sense in the minds of the people engaged on small and trivial things that they were taking part in a great reconstructive movement, that the daily task was in touch with the prophecies of old, and with the prayers of millions, that they were creating something new and something which would be good, if not in their time, then in the time of their children. That determination of the individual as well as of the community to find new expression in every form or activity of life, whether social order or religion, whether the creative or the applied arts, whether in the field or the school, is the outstanding characteristic of Jewish Palestine. Fittingly the national song of the Zionists is called "Hatikvah," the Hope!

There is, indeed, another and a less bright aspect of Jewish nationalism. That power of assimilation which is a marked characteristic of the Jew, and against which his idealistic nationalism is essentially

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a protest, has affected the national movement itself. Certain Jewish Nationalists have imitated, from the national movements of their environment in Central Europe and in the East, an aggressiveness and insistence on political dominance which are at once foreign to the essential ideas of Jewish teaching, and out of relation with reality. While protesting against the assimilation of the individual Jew to his environment, they do not have regard to the more serious and more dangerous assimilation of Jewish nationalism. Their demand is that the peculiar people shall be a normal nation. They want a Jewish State in which the Jew shall bear rule, just as in Poland the Pole bears rule. That more material nationalism is found most glaringly among the extreme Zionists, who are known as the Revisionists. Their immediate objective is a Jewish majority in Palestine, and recognition by English and Arabs of Jewish political supremacy in that country; and they imitate the violent tactics and the violent manners of other groups of national idolators.

The Jewish National Movement has to struggle, too, with certain inherent and inevitable weaknesses of the Jewish people, passing, in this period of transition, to a normal life and independence. It is a heritage from the life in the Ghetto that action in Jewish affairs is often sicklied o'er with the pale cast of talk. It is another heritage from the Ghetto life that the Jewish people are constantly and excessively critical of their leaders.

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Lord Balfour, the faithful champion of Zionism, remarked at a Zionist celebration that the danger which beset the Jewish people was not lack of idealism or lack of devotion to their ideal, but "their unwillingness to do that without which this, or any other, great movement must necessarily fail—to give their whole-hearted trust and confidence to their chosen leaders." The Jew, it has been said, is fit to be the servant of the Gentile, fitter still to be the master of the Gentile, but unfitted to be the servant and master of his own people. The exaggeration of a critical faculty in the rank and file makes the task of the Jewish national leader preternaturally hard.

Jewish nationalism, indeed, in its profounder and truer aspect, is not a mere latter-day reproduction of European nationalism, an aspiration for another small State, but it is nourished from its prophetic and Messianic root; it has still as its aim to further the establishment of a just and peaceful international society. Its ultimate object, it has been said, is to transcend itself. It has a certain universal quality which distinguishes it from other national movements. At the same time, its basis is that, in order to be a true international force, the Jew must first realise again his own nationality. There cannot be a brotherhood of peoples unless there are peoples to be brothers. It would seem to be the special function of a restored Jewish nationality in Palestine, after it has fulfilled a better order of society internally,

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to carry the principles of justice and humanity to the relations between nation and nation. A modern Jewish philosopher has taught that the "Golden rule" of Moses was the basis of the old Hebraic outlook on the relations of peoples, and that in our day it can be carried out by a nation in its relation with other nations, and so become the basis of a new order.

Palestine cannot be the home of the sixteen million Jews dispersed over the globe, nor of the majority, nor even of a large fraction of them. The Jews will remain, as they have been for countless generations, an international people in the sense of being spread among the nations, and enriching with their individuality the countries in which they live. Nor, outside Palestine, can they be merely a national minority like other national minorities, enjoying separate political and cultural rights. History, since the War, has shown the inadequacy of that solution. Inside and outside Palestine they must strive for the recognition of equal citizenship for all peoples, without distinction of religion, race or nation; and for international co-operation without insistence on national supremacy. When Palestine has become the home of a larger remnant developing the new Hebraic civilisation, the physical, intellectual and spiritual centre of a self-conscious, self-reliant people, then the Jews, by fulfilment of their pacific purpose and by reviving their moral genius, may be able to serve humanity with a

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living influence for peace and understanding between nations; and Jewish culture will be recognised as a branch of the tree of mankind deriving sustenance from the whole, and giving its fruit to the whole.

These hopes may appear to be visionary and exaggerated. Yet it is to be remembered that out of the return of some sixty thousand exiles from Babylon under Zerubbabel sprang that religious and moral culture which determined the history of civilisation. Now, as then, the return of the people to Palestine has more a spiritual than a political significance. Its purpose is to save the soul rather than the body of Jewry. Several non-Jewish writers of our day have seen in the return of the remnant of Israel a promise of momentous things. A Professor of the Collège de France in a book with the fanciful title, *Paris Capitale des Religions, ou La Mission d'Israel*, has suggested that the restored Jewish people must take a leading part in harmonising the religious ideas of the East and the West. Israel is a combination of contraries and for that reason marked out as conciliator. It holds most firmly to the traditions of the past and the visions of the future; it is most European and most Asiatic, the most dispersed and most concentrated of peoples; nearest at once to earth and to heaven. An English writer, with a very different outlook, Harold Nicholson, a realist of realists, has been moved by the mystic quality of Jerusalem to

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prophesy that "in that pregnant, poignant city, another civilisation may rise to blend the achievements of the mind with the achievements of the soul." There is something about the Promised Land, as the hearth of what is most valuable in our civilisation, and something about the Jewish people, as the immortal nation and the heir to the ideals of social and international peace based on religion, which makes both Jews and Gentiles believe that the remarriage of the Land and the People may give birth again to a religious message for humanity.

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